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# ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

IN

# GENTLE AND SIMPLE LIFE.

#### BEING

- I. England's address to her Three Daughters, the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn: from Polimanteia, 1595.
- II. A Quest of Enquirie by Women to know whether the Tripe-woman was trimmed, 1595.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY THE

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## INTRODUCTION.

I. ENGLAND'S ADDRESS TO HER THREE DAUGHTERS . . . . . . . . . 1595. (See full title on page 1.)

THERE is no name on the title-page of Polimanteia—whence England's address to her Three Daughters is fetched—and only the initials 'W. C.' appended to the Epistle-dedicatory to the Earl of Essex. Mr. W. C. Hazlitt (Hand-Book, s.n.) has ascribed the book to a WILLIAM CLARKE, without authority as without any elucidation or explanation. Thomson, in the Athenæ Cantabrigiensis, s.n., gives the name as WILLIAM CLERKE—with these details—"matriculated as a sizar of Trinity College in June 1575: became a scholar of that house and 1578-9 proceeded B.A. He was soon afterwards elected a fellow and in 1582 commenced M.A." He adds—"He is the supposed author of

The Triall of Bastardie: that part of the second Part of Policie or manner of Government of the Realme of England: so termed, Spirituall, or Ecclesiasticall. Annexed at the end of this Treatise, touching the prohibition of Marriage, a Table of the Leviticall, English, and Positive Canon Catalogues, their concordance and difference. London, 4to, 1584. Dedicated to Robert Redmayn, doctor of law, judge-delegate and commissary (for the vacancy of the see) within the city and diocese of Norwich."

Then follows the title-page of *Polimanteia*. It will be observed that neither does the *Athenæ Cantab*. adduce authority for the assignation of either *Triall of Bastardie* or of *Polimanteia* to William Clerke. Its compiler—who was most painstaking and careful—probably simply accepted the entry in Dr. Bliss's Sale-catalogue, vol. i. p. 77. I—for one—wish more were known of this William Clerke and his authorship of these two noticeable books. I have not had opportunity of seeing the *Triall of Bastardie*. Prob-

ably the terms of the dedication to Redmayn of Norwich point to some connection of the Writer with Norwich. But for the present at least W. C. and even William Clerke is but *nominis umbra*. It is clear that he was supremely 'taken' by the great Earl of Essex. Few tributes even to him give one a deeper sense of the hold he had on contemporary Englishmen than *Polimanteia's* Epistle-dedicatory.

That which alone has been a preserving salt for Polimanteia is the author's evident familiarity with his most illustrious contemporaries. Thomson (as before) commits the usual error of saying that England's Address contains "the earliest known publication in which onr immortal dramatist is alluded to by name." Dr. Ingleby's Century has shown this to be a mistake. None the less is the allusion to Shakespeare right memorable and noteworthy. In 1505, spite of Titus Andronicus: King Henry VI., pt. i.: The Two Gentlemen of Verona: The Comedy of Errors: Venus and Adonis: King Henry VI., pt. ii.: Loves's Labour's Lost: Romeo and Juliet: Sonnets: King Henry VI., pt. iii.: Lucrece: The Taming of the Shrew: King Richard III.: The Merchant of Venice, and A Midsummer-Night's Dream, he was mainly known as "sweet Shakespeare," save that Lucrece is designated (as I read the margin-note) "All praise worthy Lucrecia," (p. 44.) My conception is that 'sweet,' like the charming traditional 'gentle,' was meant to characterize the man rather than the Poet (or Dramatist). If so - then the further marginnote (p. 45) 'Wanton Adonis. Watfons heyre' was intended not for Venus and Adonis and Shakespeare as 'Watfons heyre,' but rather Richard Barnfield was 'Watson's heyre,' and his Cynthia, published also in 1595, the suggester of 'Wanton Adonis'-both Venus and Adonis occurring and recurring in it, and indeed in most of his longer poems. But as noted in the places, 'sweet' is used very uncritically by W. C. throughout.

Our Notes and Illustrations—appended at close of the volume—will guide to other tid-bits of names and allusions and specially to the most noticeable appeal to Nash and Harvey (pp. 39-40); and so here I would only remark generally that in this England's Address will be found—as put into our title-page—glimpses of 'Elizabethan England' in 'gentle life' or among the well-born and cultured of the Universities and Inns of Court. As such, it ought long since to have been recalled to access and memory. For more on details I must refer the student-reader to Notes and Illustrations, as just intimated.

Kindred with England's Address, though some years earlier, viz., 1587, is the following extremely rare book:

#### SIVQILA.

Too Good, to be trve:

#### OMEN.

Though fo at a vewe, Yet all that I tolde you, Is true, I vpholde you: Now cease to aske why? For I can not tye.

Herein is shewed by way of Dialogue, the wonderfull maners of the people of Mauqsun, with other talke not friuolous.

Scene and allowed according to the order appointed.

Imprinted at London by Abel Ieffs, dwelling in the fore street without Creplegate at the signe of the Bell. 1587.

As this work seems to be utterly unknown even to Bibliographers, it is thought expedient to make full quotations from it, commencing with the Epistle-dedicatory to Hatton and so going forward, as follows:

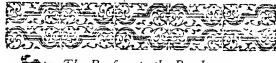


To the Right Honorable, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, Capteine of hir Maiesties Garde, Vicechamberlaine to hir highnesse, and one of hir Maiesties most honourable privy Counsaile.

ALTHOUGH I CAN not (right Honourable) procure my Countries commoditie as I would, for that my power is not to my pretence, my might to my meaning, nor my ability to my industry: yet I can not choose but vtter my good will, in shewing what I wishe to the same. But because I would not be thought to counsell others, that have more neede my selfe to be thought to set foorth orders for others that ought rather to be guided: & to direct others that am more meete to be led: therefore what I have written to that end, is none other thing than that which now is obeied, & most diligently followed throughout that most civil countrey called Mauqsun. The like thereof is not elsewhere so univerfally practifed. And though the things thereof written, wil be hardly credited (but more faintly followed) for that they are fo rare and strange, and in fuch an vnknowne place: yet they are not to be relected as falfe, confidering it is harder for the reporter thereof to tell a lye, than for a common lyar to tell a true tale, which must needes be granted, if his name called Omen, and the name of his Countrey called Mangfun, (before mentioned) be adulfedly marked and confidered, especially è converso construed. And now, for that the maruellous maners, the honest behauiour, the saithfull friendship, the courteous conditions, the commendable customes, the plaine meaning and true dealing, the Lordes liberalitie, the Ladies great courtefie, the hufbands fidelitie, the wives obedience, the maydens modeftie, the mafters fobrietie, the feruants diligence, the Magistrates affabilitie, the Indges equitie, the commons amitie, the preferring of publique commoditie, the generall hospitalitie, the exceeding mercie, the wonderfull charitie, and the constant Christianitie of that Countrey is such: I hope the honest affectioned will hereby take no small pleasure and profite. Not ignorant, that there are not a fewe of another feete, that loath they ought to loue: difdaine they ought to defire: fleere at that they ought rather to fauour: and discommende that they cannot amend. Which if every Writer should have weyed, many good things had lyon hid, that nowe are vttered: great knowledge would have hene kept close, that now is discoursed: and many profitable things vnknowen, that nowe is practifed. And therefore, as they respected rather to pleasure some honestly, than to pleasure many foolishly: fo I meane hereby rather to content the well minded with things commendable, than to flatter fooles with vnnecessarie matter. Trusting your Honour will rather weigh my good will and zeale, than my rude rashnesse: in that I presume to presente vnto you such a simple gift. Comforted herewith, that seeing the Persian Prince was content to accept a poore mans handfull of water (which had no better thing to giue him) I hope your Honour will take in good part this handfull of paper, not without something in it, which is the best thing nowe I am able to giue you. And though this is not the first booke that hall bene dedicated vnto you: yet your Honour is the first man to whome I have dedicated any. Whose wisdome hath willed me, whose modestie hath moued me, whose clemecie hath encouraged me, whose love to learning hath allured me, and whose common commendations hath enticed me to offer it vnto you. Thinking my selfe happily recompest, if you receive it but halfe as thankfully and willingly. Thus omitting any further herein to trouble your Honour, defires God earnestly to guide you in goodnesse, to desende you from dangers, to sence you from soes, to lende you long life, and to bring you to hlisse.

Your Honors most obedient to commande.

THOMAS LVPTON.



The Preface to the Reader.

As I have published this (gentle Reader) to pleasure and profite many, so I wish the meaning thereof not to be hidde from any, which though I have defcribed at large in my former Epistle, yet for that I thinke many will not reade the fame (as I wish they would,) herein I have displayed the estate and discourse thereof, which is, that one SIVQILA, a man that lived godly, loved honefile, and efteemed equitie, was fo wearie with the wickednesse, naughtinesse, sasehode, and other great enormities of his owne Countrie, that he trauelled to finde out a Countrie and people that were agreeable to his owne affection. Who, at the laft, when he had trauelled thorowout the whole worlde, as he thought, chanced to meete with one whose name was OMEN, dwelling in a Countrey there called MAVQSVN: wherein, as he faid, generally be fuch bleffed Bithops, fuch perfect Preachers, fuch vertuous Ministers, fuch godly Gouernours, fuch mercifull Magistrates, such iust Iudges, such worthy Laws, fuch charitable Lawyers, fuch honest Attorneis, fuch pitifull Physitians, such friendly Surgeons, such liberall Lordes, such lowlie Ladies, such gentle Gentlemen, fuch loving Husbandes, fuch obedient Wives, such humble Children, fuch modest Maydes, such Seruants, such good and plaine Dealing, such Hospitalitie, fuch wonderfull Charitie, fuch practizing of Godlinesse, and such striuing to Doe well, that the fame SIVOILA did wonder at it, faying, It is Too GOOD TO BE TRUE: whereof this Booke hath his title, which if the Discourse thereof be well marked, I doubt not but that it will like the Godlie, please the Honest, and warne the Wicked. And therefore, as I have taken long paynes in framing it, fo I befeech thee take a little paynes to reade it thorowly, which is all that I wish. And thus I end.

THOMAS LVPTON.

Turning back on the title-page and these Epistles of this hitherto overlooked book of the class of SIR THOMAS MORE'S *Utopia* and Bacon's *Atlanta* and Bishop Hall's *Mundus*, it is to be noted that *Omen* is = Nemo, *i.e.*, nobody, and Mauqfvn = Nusquam, *i.e.*, nowhere, while the 'Countrey' that Sivqila finds too evil to stay in is shown early to be England, as will be seen immediately.

The whole drift of the Author, accordingly, is to picture an 'ideal' Country in contrast with the degenerate and wicked 'Anglia' of the period. This he does by putting into the mouth of Sivqila successive questions to Omen on the various persons and things named in the 'Preface to the Reader.' with the invariable result that whatever happens to be mentioned is 'perfect' in 'Mavqfvn' and evil in 'Ailgna,' save that now and again exceptions are made of good individuals in the several classes. The 'dialogue' is 'slow' and the narrative extremely tedious and the illustrative 'stories' spun out long after the material is exhausted. Nevertheless there are capital hits at the 'besetting sins' of this early Elizabethan period. 'Sivgila' found out that he could not possibly be admitted into 'Mavgfvn,' but Omen was willing to answer all his enquiries; and so the 'Dialogue' proceeds.

The book thus opens: "Omen. I meruaile what fellowe this is that commes towards me thus speedily: he thinkes belike to have some succour here, but he is much deceived, for wee never goe to trouble any: neither anie shal trouble vs. What art thou sirra? what is thy name? from whence doest thou come? and what wouldest thou have? Singila. O sir, I am come from the furthest parts of the worlde I thinke, there is no place nor Countrey but I have bin in it I beleve, (except this where your dwel): my name is Singila, a sinner I confesse, but one that seares God, loves his worde, estemes equitie, and abhors wickednes: my chiefe desire is to finde out a Countrey and people, as are altogether affectioned as I am. Omen. You may goe round about the

whole worlde, and thorowe and thorowe it againe, ere you shal find the least village (much lesse a whole Countrey) of fuch as you name your felfe to be: I pray you of what Countrey are you? Singila. Forfooth I was borne in a famous and most fertile Iland called Ailgna. Omen. If I doe not mistake it, there are some of your Countreme, that would have rapt out halfe a dozen oathes, in a great deale lesse talke then you have vttered. Singila. That is true, God amend it, which vice with manie other, too commonlie frequented, was the chiefe occasion of my comming from thence." Siugila tells how 'abused' and disappointed he had been in his vain 'trauels,' but on Omen's describing generally his 'Mavqfvn,' he exclaims - 'Wel, though my trauaile hath bene troublesome, paineful and dangerous, yet I repent not my iorney: for now I hope I have found the place that will pleafe me: I pray you let vs make haft, I think long vntil I be in it." To this - as already intimated — there is a dead refusal, as thus:

Omen. You were best to knowe first, whether you shal bee welcome thether or not.

Siuqila. I truft I shal behaue my selse in such order, that none shal mislike me. Omen. Wel, to be plaine, you cannot come there, for wee keep none but such as are borne and bred in our own Countrey, therefore no Straunger can dwell with us, for if they should, we should rather learne their vices then they followe our vertues.

Singila. As you are to be praifed for keeping away the wicked, fo are you to to be misliked for resusing the godlie: for you could learne of them no harme, but goodnesse.

Omen. Speake better then we they may, but offend so little as wee they cannot. And yet if we should receive any beeing neuer so godly and
honest: would all the brood they breed be so godly as they? no, not
so, for the godliest fathers in the old time, have had godlesse children.

Siugila. I cannot denie that: but if you would be fo good vnto me, as to fuffer me a while to remaine in your Countrey, I would (by God's help) liue in fuch order, that I wold not encrease your number.

Omen. Are you not flesh and bloud? are you not a finner?

Siugila. Yes truly that I am, or else I were a lyer.

Omen. Then we wil not trust you, nor put it in proofe: as godly men as you have broken as greate promises as that: Therefore set your hart at rest, you may not come there nor you shall not come there.

Singila. What remedy, I can be but forie, but my greese is the greater, for that I am so nigh such a Countrey, where there is such godly orders, such commendable customes, equitie esteemed, and Vertue so imbraced, (as you erst did tel me) and cannot see it before I goe hence: O that I might have bin so happie, to have seen the manners and orders thereof, whereby I might have reuealed them in my own Countrey, when I had ben come home, that they might have been practised there: Such a mind I have that my Countrey might excel others in goodnes and equitie. (pp. 4-5-)

Omen on Siuqila's rising to go says, "Stay a little I pray you, haue you a defire indeede to know the state of our Countrey"? Siuqila answers, "A maruelous defire, if I knew how," to which Omen replies, "I like you wel, and now for the good wil I beare you, I wil make a relation to you thereof, especially as much as I can remember or as you will aske."

They had begun 'conuerfing' on 'godly Preachers,' and now gradually traverse the whole round of inquiry, always, as was inevitable, to the advantage of 'Mavqfvn' and to the 'evil repute' of 'Ailgna.' There was too much ground for the dark picture drawn of 'Simony' in the Church and gross superstition and ignorance among the people. Self-evidently the Author drew his pictures from actual cases. Omen has to allow that originally even in 'perfect' Mauqsun "the men came to the Sermons like Maskers, and the women like Players," so much so that "the Preacher was so amazed, that he was ready to go out of the Pulpit, for [that] he thought verily (seeing them in that order) that there would have bin either a play, a mummery, or a Maygame." (pp. 18-19.)

The over-gawdy 'dreffing' of the gentler sex comes in for much severe reprehension; and they are pointed to the unchanging 'fashions' of the very 'hearbes and trees'—"Marke the vegetable creatures, whether they keepe not their olde fashion still or no? hath not the Primerose, the Cowslop, the Deasie, the Marigolde, the Rosemarie, the Lillie, the Apple tree, the Walnut tree, and all other

Hearbes, Weedes, trees, and plantes, the like flowers, leaves, stalkes, rootes, fruite, colour, smell, taste, vertue, and qualities, that they had the last yeare? and haue alwaies had since their first creation?" (p. 23.) The chief occupation of the majority are summarily classified as "Bearbaitings, Bulbaytings, Players, Vauters, and Tumblers." (p. 27.) Siuqila adds, however, "Some with vs, whose parentes feare God, are brought vp in the same order (thankes be to God). But truely the most of our youth, especially the poorer fort, are so tidlingly, sondly, wantonly, and idely brought vp, that it is a griefe to the godly." (p. 37.)

The national 'Drunkenness' presents a manifold subject for "doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in rigeteousness"; and one gird remains as true to-day as then - "If thou shouldest be constrained to give the fourth part for the defence of your Countrey, of that which thou spendest in one yeere to shorten thy life, or to kill thyselfe, thou wouldest thinke thou were vndone." (p. 56.) The profanation of the Sabbath seems to have most of all 'grieued' the good Siugila, as thus: "I woulde to God they did bestowe the Sabbath daye so well with vs. I thinke verilye, if any day be more profaned with vs then other, it is the Sabbath daye, that God hath appointed to bee kept most holye. For I doubt manye doe come to the Church that daye more to prye then to praye: more to looke then to learne: more to fhew themselues then to shunne sinne: more to marke others then to amend themselues: more for custome then conscience. and more to heare a fine Preaching then to followe the godlve teaching. And if manye of them doe thus, that come to the Church, what may be thought of them that come not to Many are conftrained to labour for their the Church? liuing in the week day, whereby they avoid idlenesse the mother of mischies, whereof many I seare, though they are not idle on the Sabboth day, they are not wel occupied. For that day they give themselves to Drinking, Dicing. Dancing, Swearing, chaffing, Playing, Bowling, Beare-baiting, & to other vanities." (pp. 73-4.) Now and again there are odd bits of story-telling as this of the Devil — "Siuqila. It was credibly reported, that a luftie ladde with vs, (a folemne fwearer) loofing his money at Dice, had blafphemed God with many terrible othes, faying: If I had the Diuell here, I would eate him: who had no fooner fpoke these words, but a Spider (or else the Diuel in the likenesse of a Spider) came down ouer his mouth: which, as foone as he fawe, he snatcht into his mouth, and so died presently. Omen. A fearefull example, and enough (me thinkes) to make every one cease from swearing. If it were a Spider, then it was sufficient to destroy his bodie: but if it were the Diuell, it was enough to destroy him and a thousand such, both bodie and soule." (p. 77.)

Omen as against 'Dicing,' and 'Gambling,' upholds 'Exercise of the higher fort,' as 'Chess,' which he goes on to set forth as "the Astronomer's game & the Philosopher's game, which wettes their wittes, revertes their minds, and hurts no body in the meane season." (p. 93.)

The 'Lawyers' of 'Mavqfvn' are the very embodiments of justice and mercy. Not so those of Ailgna, e.g., "Our Courtes are fo costly, the fees fo greate, the expences fo much, the delayes fo many, the trauayle fo farre, the triall fo long, and the obtaining fo doubtfull: that poore men can not, nor many wife men dare not beginne or profecute the lawe. They had rather take halfe before they begin the lawe, than to lay out their money in hope to have all at the end of the lawe. Our lawe with vs paffes building, which building is found to be fuch a privile theefe, that many vnwife builders have bin much impouerished thereby: For looke, what many thinkes will frame vp the whole, will fcantly finish the halfe. Yet are they sure to have halfe a house for their money: and if they bestowe so much more they are certaine to have a house. But he that goeth to the lawe with vs, for the obtaining of his right (as he thinks) and makes an accounte that twenty pounde wil try his

matter to the end: it may chance cost him an lundreth pounde, yea and sel al the houses, lands, and living he hath, and yet goe without that he sues for "(pp. 115-16).

The 'Physicians' and 'Surgeons,' especially the 'Stipendarie Surgeons' of the Hospitals, have a sad name in Ailgna. They are represented as greedy, grasping, careless, cruel. One terrible story of a poor man, with a 'sore arme,' in one of the Hospitals, with the as terrible exposure, detection, and punishment of the offending Surgeon, makes one shudder to-day (pp. 126-133). Here is a quaint portion of the dialogue on the physicians and surgeons:

Siuqila. . . . It is possible they wil be forie if they come late to a rich man, but as for a poore man, they think they may tarrie their leyfure wel inough. If our Surgeons should do as your Surgeons do, they would thinke that they should not be able to find themselues and their samely.

Omen. Though they thinke fo, yet ours thinke not fo, for our Surgeons beleeue verily, that God profpers them the better, and makes them the richer, because they are fo ready to come and releeue the poore.

Singila. Though it be fo in deede, yet it is hard to beate that into our Surgeons heades. They had rather have one birde in their own hand then two in an other mans hand.

Omen. But our Surgeons had rather have one bird in Gods hand then two in their own: for they thinke that the one bird that is in Gods hande, is better then two birdes in their owne hand. And that one bird in Gods hand will bring forth more encrease than twentie such birds as theirs will do, which they have in their owne hand. (pp. 121-2.)

The 'Marchants' and money-lenders and borrowers are pungently handled. 'Usury' must have been an infinite oppression in those days. 'Ingratitude' (i.e., 'ingrate' persons) receives vehement rebuke, and a long-drawn-out but effective story and judgment enforces it. Finally—How extremely 'ideal' Mauqfun is, may appear from the following full quotation:

Omen. It woulde reioyce any Godly mans heart to fee how the rich with vs bestowes their time and their goods.

Singila. I pray you, fir, how is that?

Omen. Forfooth as foone as they are vp, which is very early, they goe to vifit ther poore neighbours houses, & most gently, louingly, & willingly, they give them mony to relieue them withal, according to their necessitie, and their owne abilitie: and you shall see the riche mens wives

(not without their hufbands cōfents) carrie their childres apparel, tometimes before they be halfe worne, and giue the fame to their poore neighbours to clad their children withall: fo that the rich with vs are fo godly and charitable to the poore, that it is a very hard thing to finde any poore with vs, that wantes either meate, drinke, or fufficient clothes. If a poor body with vs fhould chance to goe in the ftreete fomething coldly cladde, the first riche man or woman, I warrant you, that meetes them will not onely weepe for their going so coldly, but also will carrie the poore party home with them: and if they haue but two garmentes, as they haue not lightly aboue three, they wil giue them one of them, and bidde them put the fame on to keepe them warme, saying: Brother, Christ bids vs do as we would be done vnto, therefore seeing I would haue one to giue me a garment if I were naked or went coldly clothed: euen so I am willing to cloth thee with this my garment, to keepe thee from the colde.

Siugila. Oh happy people, that have fuch charitable hearts: oh burning loue, that feeles the fmart of their brother. Your poore people were best to keepe theselues stil with you, & not to come into our countrey to dwel, for if they shold they might happe to stande quaking in the streate in a colde frostie weather all a whole day, without having any coate or garment given them: yea though for thy riche folkes coming ftreight from a Sermon, should see them, whereof some of them perhaps have twentie vppermost garments of their owne at ye least, not once weeping at their want, nor forrowing at their fmart: thinking themselues to be pitiful inough, if they give them a penny: which haply they get not without a checke or a taunt. I pray God fome of them leave not their purfes at home purpotely, because they woulde giue them nothing. But me thinks these hard harted wretches, & these nicknamed Christians, the next time that they should looke on their great nuber of garded gownes, their costly cassocks, and their through furred garments, which are more than euer they will weare, confidering they make newe daily for themselues (and all to follow the newe fashion) and especially when they see them moth eaten, shoulde tremble and quake for feare, at the terrible wordes of Saint James, which threatneth all fuch, (faying) 'Goe to now, ye rich men, weepe and howle on your wretchednesse that shal come vpon you: your riches is corrupt, your garmets are moth eaten: your gold and your filuer are cankered, & the rest of them shall be a witnesse vnto you, and shall eate your flesh as it were fire,' &c. But truly, their stonie hearts are so flintie hard, that neither these words, nor yet the most terrible threatnings in all the Scriptures besides, can penetrate any part thereof. (pp. 70-2.)

# Summarily onward, we read:

Singila. Are all your Nobilitie of that humilitie you fpeake of?

Omen. What else? Fo as harde a thing to fynde with vs a haughtie

heart in the Nobilitie, a loftie looke in the Ladies, or a disclaimefull countenance in the Gentlemen, or their wines, as it is to finde a meeke minde in a froward woman, a chast heart in a Harlot, or liberalitie in a niggard or Snudge. (p. 96.)

Besides the glimpses into the England of 1587, and before, this neglected quarto (pp. viii and 175) gives vivid insight into the condition of society as represented by 'Preachers' and 'Lawyers' and 'Merchants' and 'Physitions,' and all the others designated in the 'Preface to the Reader,' in contrast with the immaculate citizens of Mauqsun, and there are a number of noticeable words and phrases that I deem it well to place on record—seeing that I fear another will not readily be found to read through the somewhat trying old book in its quaint flack letter type.

I take such things, more especially rare words, as I marked in reading from commencement to close:

I. 'Simoniacs.' "I maruell why fuch are chosen, and put into that place:

[the Church]

Alas, they counterfaite themselnes, vntill they get in.

And when they vncounterfaite themselnes againe, why are they not

Thrust out." (pp. 10, 11.)

 Vanity of fa/hions.' "there is fuch excesse of apparel!, such gawdie going, and such pecockly and new fashions euery day." (p. 20.)

### Again:

- "Why should we that are earth, ashes and dust, pricke vp ourselues so Peacockly?" (p. 23.)
- 3. 'Pelte.' "Truly our father Adam, which was Lord of ye whole earth, had but a leather Pelte to couer his nakedneffe." (p. 21.)
- 4. 'Falfe pride.' "So that they are proud of that that should make the ashamed.

  Who woulde be proude of the sheete he weares in doing his penance?" (p. 21.)
- 5. Green fward. "What is it to fowe feede vpon the graffe or greene fwarde vnploughed or vndigged?" (p. 25.)
- 6. 'Hilling.' "many of the faid rich greedy guttes, caring for nothing but for the hilling and filling their owne backe and bellie." (p. 28.)
- 7. 'Flang.' "And so he flang away in a sume." (p. 41.)
- 8. Early form of 'out-faced.' "thy poore Father's complaint, thou wouldest ... have fedde with one sable or other, and so faced out thy poore Father before our face." (p. 44.)
- 9. Beaters of Husbands. " she shall ride on a coalstaffe." (p. 49.)

10. 'Party' = person. "if ye party that would have fled bee maimed, then he that hath maimed him shall give him ye one halfe of al his goods." (p. 51.)

## Again:

- "If the party that borrowes the money to interest reueale the same." (p. 146.)
- 11. 'Cutters.' "And thus these lustie cutters and stout fighters are sufficiently proued to be euil men." (p. 53.)
- 12. 'Shot.' "their whole weekes worke wil fcantly pay their Sondaies fhotte." (p. 59.)
- 'Advoutreffe.' = adulteress. "the hufband of the advoutreffe and the wife
  of the fornicator." (p. 61.)
- 14. 'Vnshamefastly.' "fo boldly, rashly, so vnshamefastly." (p. 63.)
- 15. 'Blacke Swanne.' "It is as easie a thing to finde a blacke Swanne with you, as such a one with us." (p. 63.)
- 16. 'Harbour.' "Woe shal be to all them that harborough such a guest, for he wil harborouh the for ever." . . . . (p. 65.)
- 17. 'Adiected.' "truly the people are fo peeuishly adiected, that they esteeme Wealth above Wisedome." (p. 74.)
- 18. 'Totnam.' "euery word that the riche speaketh is soothed and counted for an Oracle, (be it neuer so fond) but let the poore speake neuer so wisely, he is tript before his tale be halfe tolde, and he is sleered or iested at therefore. But if the said rich man doth fall into poverty, and the same poore man chance to be rich, then Totnam is turned French, and then the soole is sodainely become wise, and the wise man a soole." (p. 74.)
- 'Cock fure!' "And to make the thing more cock fure, he hired two witness." (p. 83.)
- 'Boulte.' "goe about to boulte out the trueth with fuch diligence."
   (p. 85.)
- 21. 'Fellowe' in a good sense as in English Bible. "Then fayde the fame fellowe that came to speake with the Judge."... "then saide the fellowe to the Judge."... (pp. 86-7.)

So throughout, where the 'fellowe' is a true-hearted man who comes forward to bear 'true and honest witnesse' in behalf of another 'godly' man safely accused of high treason. But though thus used in a good sense 'fellowe' is also used in this book in a bad sense. See also pp. 107, 125, 153 and 156. In the second he is a specially bad character:

"If fuch a fellowe were with us, and should use himselfe fo, we should learne him such a lesson that he shoulde not dare doo the like as long as he liued." (p. 125.)

- 22. 'Deposed' = deponed "I wil have every one of you in this case deposed." ... and fo they were deposed and fworne." (p. 90.)
- 23. 'Trim.' "Are not thy diuelish deuises come to a trim drist?" (p. 91.)
- 24. 'Lozels.' "many lewde lozels looke loftily." (p. 96.)
- 25. 'Bribes.' "belike you thought that my handes did fo tickle to touch, that I would wring with the wrong." (p. 108.)
- 26. 'Felche.' "Which onely was the fetche to fetche you vnto me." (p. 109.)
- 27. 'Dayed.' "There have two profecuted the law together for a Cocke or for a Goofe, and they have both hin almost vndone, and the matter vntried, whereby they have bin enforced, when all their money was confumed and fpent, to have their matter dayed and ended by arbitrement." (p. 115.)

#### Again:

"They had bin better to have eaten the Cocke or the Goose betweene them at the first, than to spend all the money and put it to dayment at last." (ibid.)

- 28. 'Cobs.'(?) I knew two rich Cobs that went to the lawe for the triall of a matter."... (p. 117.)
- 29. 'Lament.' "what paines he hath put me to ever fince, both night and day it would lament you if you knew it." (p. 129.)
- 30. 'Starting holes.' "if we had this lawe, and well executed, the Ufurers durst not trust to their starting holes as they doe." (p. 147.)
- 31. Bird-lore and ingratitude. "Beholde a little Birde shall make thee ashamed. But how canst thou be ashamed? for I thinke thou hast no The little Marlin will not praye on the last Birde that fhame at all, the catcheth at night, but holdes her in her tallents, all night, without hurting her, onely to keepe her felfe the warmer, and then in the morning she letteth her goe: which Marlin aduisedly marking which way the fame Birde doth flye, will not flye toward that quarter of all that day for her praye, leaft she should hap to catche her and so hurt her that had done her good, pinch her that had pleasured her, and kill her that had comforted her. This little Birde against her will hath pleafured the Marlin, and yet the Marlin is thankefull for it." (p. 150.)
- 32. 'Beparched.' "in Africa, being beparched with the heate of the Sunne." (p. 160.)
- 33. Great Professional men not Authors in England, "It is with us quite contrary, for they that hope to attaine to any great office, beare any rule, or come to any preferment, thinke fcorne (though they are able) to penne or publish any Bookes (though the matter be neuer fo good, necessarie or honest) and wherefore thinke you? forfooth because most peruerfely and peeuishly they should be therefore of the higher forte disdained, of their equals dispraised, of their inferiors derided, of the profited thereby not thanked, and of fome they cannot amend it detracted. So that (but what reason is in it I knowe not) the most part with vs think it as vnfeemely, for one that is in authoritie, or beares

rule, to publish and [= an] woorke, as it is for a Pedler to preach. But I am cleane of a contrary mind. (p. 166.)

34 'Depart.' = part. "the most of our riche men are so greedie and couetous, that they will depart with none of their goods during their life."
(p. 173.)

It was probably with reference to Lupton's book that CHARLES GIBBON entitled one of his always extremely heavy and wearing-out moral-religious tractates, "Not so new, as True. Being a verie necessarie Caueat for all Christians to consider of. Wherein is truelie described the iniquitie of this present time, by occasion of our confused liuing: And instille approued the world to be neuer worse, by reason of our contagious leaudnes. 1590." (4to.) It too is "A Dialogicall discourse concerning the course of this world. The Speakers be, Alpheus and Nicanor." I have 'searched' (almost) in vain for so much as a single quotable bit above the dead level of pious commonplace. These so-so Lines fill a vacant page, and for Elizabeth's sake and an odd use of the word 'teen,' may be here recalled from their oblivion:

#### O Lord

E nlarge the life of our good Queene. L et nothing turne vnto her teene : I ncreafe thy graces in her still. S o that fhe may performe thy will: A duaunce thy word, augment our ioyes, B y beating downe all Popish toyes. E xpell her foes, preuent their luft, T hat they may know her cause is just. H elpe those that call vpon thy name A nd fcourge the rest vnto their shame. R emit our finnes with our defarts. E ngraue thy lawes within our hearts: G rant vs thy grace to fructifie I n all good deedes continuallie: N o doubt our end is imminent. A nd therefore let vs all repent. So be it.

As a pendant to this take an incidental tribute to the great queen, thus:

"As for your conclusion, concerning the sufferance of such as haue libertie to doo well, and will not: Truelie such is the good pitie of our Prince, that where heretofore some haue burned such as were godlie, for a good cause: she beares with such as bee vnresormed, for a surther consideration: not tendering their case to their confusion; but intending a care of their conversion, staying oftentimes where she might strike, in hope of amendment; yet striking sometime where she must needes for seare of a mischiese. (Oh Princely patterne of patience, oh worthie mirror of mercie): Remembring alwaies to set good against euill, to beare with the weake, and to sorbeare the froward a while, as vacertaine in what howre God may call such into his vineyard." (p. 8.)

### Here is a favourable specimen of the style of Gibbon:

"To conclude, is it not possible for both to accompanie but they shall alter condition? Why, the filth of the dunghill cannot infect the cleare Sunne, and yet it shines vpon it; the tartnes of the lees doth not take away the tast of the wine, yet both in a caske; the sharpnes of the pricke doth not hinder the sauour of the Rose, yet both on a stalk; the filthines of the ground cannot take away the sine [n]es of the gold, yet both be together; neither can the vilenes of poyson impaire the vertue of the stone, yet both in the toade. Thus much I thought good to deliver, because you make it so forupulous for the good and bad to be together, whereas all things considered, it is rather commodious than dangerous; or if not profitable, yet nothing pernicious." (p. 11.)

Another manners-painting book published the year after Lupton's is the following—"The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steps of Fraunce. Wherein is explained, the wilfull blindnesse of subtill mischiese, the Striuing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine: and the secrete sounde of many hollowe heartes, by W. R. Nulla pretas pravis. At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Feter Lane neere Holborne. 1588." (4to.)

I have rarely been more disappointed with any early English book than this. Its style is unformed and uncritical, with an irritating alliteration and a miserable suggestion of Euphues, most unhappy. The Author's motif was good, viz., to write down Englishmen's all-too-ready adoption of anything and everything 'foreign,' but his performance is lame and helpless. Its only value is in its reflection of the transition-state of England, the uncertainty of native 'fashions,' customs, habits, even speech, until confirmed by Italian or French. I have noted these few slight things in The English Ape:

- 1. 'Books.' "Alphonfus being asked what Counfellers he liked beft: answered Bookes, for they neither flatter in security, sooth with subtilty, contend in time of Controuersie, grudge at Superiours, nor contemne Inseriours. To confirme which, (sayth Cicero) Oh pleasant bookes, Oh harmeles bookes, the harbourers of forsaken Vertue, and the sosterers of Morall demeanor."—Epistle-dedicatory to Lord Chancellor Hatton.
- 2. We have a phrase thus early which is utilized in one of our reproductions in the present Series "giue me leaue to aske where our English men first learned their Choyce of Change, in what Countrey they have ever behelde the phantastical fashions vsed and their owne inventions neglected." (p. 5.)
- 'Relented.' "hee [Clodius] would give vnto his friends that fupped with him pearls relented in vineger to eate." (p. 7.)
- 4. 'Start vppe' "hewe downe each flart vppe stemme." (p. 11.)
- 5. 'Minoreffe' (?) "England (whose perfection hath bin of late purished by the meanes of a cunning Minoreffe, and the metall purged from the Mossie drosse that had almost ouergrowne the fertility of that pleasant soyle) doth not naturally afforde the straungenes of these straunge consusions, whose perfections (like a celestiall Lampe) doth illustrate all Christendome." (pp. 15-6.)
- 6. The Englishman. "If the Germaine that paynted euery Nation in his naturall forme, (as farre as arte coulde reache) and made the Englyshe naked, because hee knew not of what guise to make the changeable variety of his attyre: lyued nowe as sometimes he did, I imagine that hee would paynte the disguised forme of many of our women without skinnes, for that (in derision of Nature to scoffe their Creator) they finde out artificall skinnes to couer any accidentall bleamishe of their Faces. A derogatory from the honor of God, and abrogating impudent shame to the modest Sexe." (p. 23.)
- Englishwomen. "Whence proceedeth I pray these gadding seagaries of our English dames but from their decking with vnspeakable pride." (p. 24.)
- 8. "Elizabeth, that bright and illustrate Lampe." "But as the viewe of their fecret poyson causeth me to mislike the one, so the bright shew of shyning vertue, in duety compelles me to commend the other. Of which forte there is one as the Phanix, endelesse in glory, and matchlesse in mortal maiesty: At whose illustrate Lampe may our soolish virgins borrow oyle, & by her light direct the course of their life, thither, where her name is already eternized, to beare a light before the holy lambe: But mighty Iehoua let thy seruant yet liue till shee guide to thy tabernacle, her stock of Israell. Stand still her candlesticke, and lighten all the earth, that when she goes, wee may for company sing Alleluya to thy maiesty." (p. 26.)

I am not aware that the initials 'W. R.' have been 'assigned to any one.' In the Huth exemplar the Epistle-

dedicatory has a contemporary filling in of the name, but it has been partially erased, and I can only half-guessingly make out W. R[eoly] as though an attempt at Raleigh! In this Epistle the author thus refers to another work of his which had also been dedicated to Hatton—"remembring your honorable acceptance of my rough cast Conceite of Hell, vnloading complaint, and loading your eares with many friuolous phrases." (p. 2.)

# II. A QUEST OF ENQUIRIE . . . . . . 1595 (see full title on page 143.)

Of the authorship of this unique book absolutely nothing has been transmitted to us. It is quite a contrast with England's Address, but just because of that seems to the Editor of quick interest for its similar presentation of the 'simple' or vulgar aspects of 'the commonalty.' Regarded broadly, it reminds us how very small our now great London then was and how provincial in its tone, when such a 'quarrell' and 'quest' could so excite the community and inspire (as it would seem) abundant 'ballads' and keen passion all round. As with the other, in Notes and Illustrations, certain 'noticeable things' are guided to and annotated.

With respect to *Polimanteia*, the most voracious Reader will agree that the opening and close are ample specimens of the treatise-proper, which is a tedious and weak discourse of 'divination' and all kind of credulities and nullities. It should have over-weighted the 'Address' of England to her 'Three Daughters' to have reproduced so wearisome a book *in extenso*. With reference to the Latin verses prefixed to *Polimanteia* (p. 7), they may thus 'speak English':

Flood, earthquake, pestilence on all sides, dearth, Wars—what remains for ruin of the earth? Fire! now far off—whence? from Jove's ramparts high. What piles such ills on Earth? Impiety. Still is there hope of safety? Only one. Who gives it? Piety? Who owns her? None.

To hell, O Earth, since Piety is not. I see her rush — by injured gods forgot.

If nought thou buildest, why this house dost eye? Blame not, or raise a better one on high. A better hast thou, then, from both, we'll pray That Envy turn her evil eye away.

O toil, O sweat, prize of a cursed bite Earth from the fates hide thy sins out of sight.

Not all things, nor all men please me—
To all then must I pleasing be?
Not the old man of Cos suits all
Nor does this privilege befal
The Stagirite. Then wouldst thou fain
Hope the goodwill of all to gain?
Traveller, to please thy God take care
And on thy way contented fare!

One queries whether by 'Cous senex' he meant Homer—confounding Cos with Chios—and so, "Not even Homer pleases all," or Apelles the painter, a Coan—and so, "Not e'en Apelles pleases all"? Probably the former. I just notice that I have allowed the misprint 'Spagirus' for 'Stagirus' to pass. In the couplet on 'Labor' the original certainly has 'satis' (=in the cornfields), but as that makes a wrong quantity (sătis) 'fatis' is preferable, as in the translation.

For the use of his *unique* exemplar of the *Quest of Enquirie*, I am indebted to my ever-obliging friend ALFRED H. HUTH, Esq.; of *Polimanteia*, I myself possess a very fine copy. Three others seem to be known.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

St. George's Vestry.

Blackburn, Lancashire,
23rd May, 1881.

# POLIMANTEIA,

OR

# The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to IVDGE OF THE FALL OF A

COMMON-WEALTH, AGAINST

the friuolous and foolish conie-*Elures of this age.* 

Whereunto is added,

A letter from England to her three daughters, Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court, and to all the rest of her inhabitants: perswading them to a constant vnitie of what religion soever they are, for the defence of our dread foveraigne, and native cuntry: most requisite for this time wherein wee now live.

Invide, quod nequeas imitari carpere noli: Nil nifi cum fumptu menten oculofq. iuvat.



Printed by Iohn Legate, Printer to the Vniversitie of Cambridge. 1595.

And are to be fold at the figne of the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard in London.

# TO THE RIGHT

honourable, Robert Devorax Earle
of Effex and Ewe, Vicount of Hereforde, Lord
Ferrer of Chartley, Borcher, and Lovaine, Mafter of the Queenes Maiesties Horse, Knight
of the noble order of the Garter, and one of
her Maiesties most Honourable
privie Councell.



T is easie to gesse (honourable Lorde) why Schollars slocke under the patronage of men in your place; their condition is so weake, that unlesse men truly, honourable doe desend them, they are most of all in this age distressed. And

yet (braue noble Lorde) ingeniously to confesse my true meaning) it is not that which moued me at this time; but it is the height of admiration which my thoughts conceiued of your honours worth, that made me thinke all men bound to offer fignes of loue and dutie, where both are deferued in fo high a measure. I take vpon me Englands person and speake like a Common-wealth, And thersore howfoeuer it were presumption in me to dedicate papers of fo fmall moment, to a perfonage of fo rare worth, yet (honourable Lorde) take them as your cuntries talke, vouchfafe to reade them stamped with her name, and fo all shall be asraid to mislike them, beeing graced with yours. And yet I weigh not whether others mislike them or no; let but your honour for learnings fake (a thing which I know you doe) fay you are content to accept of the meanest trifle, and grace it with a good looke, and then () 2

#### The Epistle Dedicatorie.

then I contemne what male-contented melancholy can fpeake against me. Your honour (be it spoken without envie) like Englands Cedar is fprung up to preferue with your shadowe, the humblest in all professions, from hatreds malice. The warlike and braue foldier thinkes him felfe (and that in truth is) graced, to be tearmed but your The worthy and kinde passionate Courtier deemes (and worthily) this his honour, to be your fauo-The fober and devout student, that dispifed doeth rite. walke melancholy, takes himselfe (and not without cause) fortunate to be tearmed your fchollar. Thus all relye noble Lord, upon your favour. And I (who though I must needs honour) yet usually with so deepe affection am not devoted without cause) doe so in kindnesse and loue (if that be not a word too presumptuous) passe over the full interest of my felfe to your dispose, as in what kinde soeuer a schollar may doe his dutie, I am ready and desirous to be commanded by you: then accept (noble lorde) the willing mind of him that hath nothing elfe: and fay, that that alone, is absolutely sufficient to content you. Read it, but (or if that be to much) doe but accept it, and fo rest. whereof not doubting in the middeft of fo many fignes of a schollar-respecting honour, in dutie I kisse my hand, and humbly take my leaue.

Your honours in all duty most affectionate,

W. C.

# The Preface to the Reader.



Ee are fallen into the barren age of the worlde (courteous Reader) wherein though some fewe trauaile to expell Barbarisme, (which fortunately they have done in our English tongue) yet a number of idle conceited-wise-foolish heades take upon them peremptorily to censure other The cause

mens paines: so that every man is loath to enter into the viewe why many whilst Idlenes shall stand controlling and give her sentence. I write not. know it could fit these to write, but that magni laboris est quem fits idle and plerique fugimus. Homer wrote of the trauailes of the wor- will judge. thie Gracian Vlysses; Curtius of Alexander and Darius; In vaine doe Rome had neuer beene so renowned but for Titus Livius; we complain Thucydides eternized Iason and Minotaure; and sweet Salust of multitude Ingurth and Cateline: nay this wife age, long fince had beene of bookes. plaine foolish, if our painefull forefathers had not travailed for their good. And if any man thinke this age is too wifely learned to read any thing which is but some fewe droppes of that mayne Ocean which overflowed in their daies, let him knowe this, that care added to their industrious trauoiles, is easily able to perform matters of great importance. Learning was let loofe ouer all Europe euer since Athens did first flourish (excepting a fevve yeares when the Gothes and Vandalls compelled her to live in exile) who flying fafl from their furie left Italie and those famous places, and planted her felfe fo firmely in these poore countreies, that ever fince amongst vs shee hath lived honourably. Thus in the abundance of our knowledge, he that hath taken pains, stands at the courtesie of every paltrie fellowe to be censured as it please him. In consideration whereof, wife men have deemed it the safest, secretly to smile, and soberly to say nothing. For my paines I much care not, I esteeme thee (Reader) as thou dost me, for (dege- Vales nerous minds intreated, grow infolent:) the daies are euill, and Zanch, the argument is fit for these times; I knowe divers have travail- N. B. B. Gallici. led in the same kinde, whome I but humble (without wronging them) to speake unto thy capacitie: Nobilitie fully learned made My L. Henry

choice Howard.

() 3

#### The Preface to the Reader.

choice to handle the same argument, and with such prosounde deepe skill performde it, as that truth taketh her selfe much bound vnto him, who made her to speake eloquently that vseth to be plaine, and false prophesies ashamed, who so long have vsurped truths titles. From hence maist thou learne (or at least remember) that the greatest Monarches (howsoeuer proud in their owne strength) must either fall with an enemies stroake, or (as Rome did) with her owne waight: here maist thou see that nothing is so made, but subject to great change. And yet least thou defire to knowe what thou oughtest not, I have laboured to make knowne what thou shouldest desire: my leifure will not ferue to detaine thee long, and a short preface is beseeming so small paines. I take my leave, and (if thou hast deserved) I give thee thanks: onely this I must add further (not to accuse others, or make an Apologie for my selfe) that I never yet in the least syllable of the so tearmed loosest line, meant either to modestie, pietie, chastitie, time, the Muses, or kindnes to doe wrong; neither should the surmised object of my muses song, or the dearest which that object hath, suspect in me but the least shadow of supposed iniurie: for I neither ment to make loofe poetrie a true historie, or thought that wife courtefie would be so suspicious to misdeeme him, whose thoughts long since were deuoted to graver studies: from whence taking leifure but to pause a little, my penne grewe passionate, and my idle papers scattered unawares slew abroad (I protest) not to offend any: thus I binde thee (by that credit which truth deferues) who foeuer thou art which reades, to beleeue what I have spoken herein, and (if thou please) for my sake to accept

For fuch a this. And because every Balductum makes divine poetrie to be Coxcombe. but base rime, I leave thee (sacred eloquence) to be desended by the Muses ornaments, and such (despised) to live tormented with endles pouertie. Farewell.

Diluuium, terræ motus, contagia passim

Bella, fames, mundi quid reliquum exitio est?

Ignis & ipse prope est: vnde hæc? ex arce tonantis:

Tot mala quid mundo congerit? Impietas.

Anne salutis adhuc spes vlla est? vnica: quisnam

Porriget hanc? pietas: hæc vbi? nullus habet:

Quid stas munde? rue, vt pietas est nulla; ruentem

Sic video; auxilium numina læsa negant.

### Inscriptio portæ.

Si nihil ædificas, quià spectas nostra viator?
Aut mea ne carpas, aut meliora struas.
Si meliora tenes, id divos poscito mecum,
Ne, quodvterque tenet, fascinet inuidia.

### Labor.

O labor, ô fudor, scelerati præmia morsus, Ah satis natos occule terra tuos.

Nec omnia nec omnes mihi placuere; quinam ego omnibus? non omnibus Cous fenex, non Eremita Spagirus, nam tu viator omnibus? deo placere cura, abei.



[Commencement of 'Polimanteia.']

# POLIMANTEIA.

Efore we come particularlie to speake of Divinations lawfull & vnlawfull; for the true and better vnderstanding of them, we will

first define, what Divination is: Divina- What Divition is a foretelling of things to come, performing it in divers manners, as well artificial. ly, as naturally. But those that more curiously fubtilize vpon the Etymologie. fay, that to divine is properly to foretell, and to foresee things to come, by exterior motion, without an hauing any fubiect, cause, or signe before hand coniecture fo; and therefore in this God alone fort, God testifieth of himselfe, that he absolutely alone knoweth things to come, which things to afterward he reueiled by his Prophets

and

b

В

Satan Gods
[Ape.]

Satan falle-

ly a Dininer.

and Apostles, as it pleased him. Now Satan defiring in this to bee Gods Ape. (thereby the better to abuse the world. & to drowne men in intolerable fuperby a naturall curiofitie to know stition. hath things to come) iniuriouslie falfelie vfurped the fame authoritie to and from thẽce diuine. proceedeth word Divination: fo that thereby Satan fo much the more vnder a cloak of naturall things, is for the most part as a forger and couterfeiter (excepting diuination whereupon the fubiect of this matter depends:) and therefore it is necessarie to trie and examine in the first place, the might, subtiltie and craft of the diuell; in whom we shall finde as knowledge great and vnderstanding. (excepting the Angels) as in all the other besides: creatures fhall wee interpreting as great fubtiltie for

The power of Satan.

lancie :

inuent

an

trumperies;

And to

to

vnder

fignes of divers things: a matchles vigi-

fine coloured, but false pretences:

incomparable cunning.

deceit,

and

to conclude, a most perfect malice accompanied with a perpetuall hate a- Satan a pergainst mankinde: and the rather, seeing petuall enemie to manthat it is not in his force, to doe any kinde. thing of himselfe: to hinder the course of things naturall ordained by God: destroy and to make againe: to sound the depth of mans heart: or to foresee how God gouerneth the courfe of the world: the jaffayres of Kings and Princes before the reuelation of his divine prophesies. Notwithstanding he perceiueth by his fubtiltie the hid properties of things bodily and spirituall. His knowledge is exceeding by his manifold experience of things past: he diueth fo farre as may possibly bee founded into mens maners; and copies out their actions, from whence he deriueth greatest profit. Thus he incombers his actions of Kings & Princes of each in particular; that contrarie to all fon and opinion of men, they are all fo intermedlingly inwrapped each in ther states, that scarse anie knoweth how B 2

how to escape himselfe. Thorough the deepe whereof he fo lancheth without fight, that he maketh one of them to and beguile another: whereof entrap euerie where are examples fufficient. and therefore S. Paul to the Ephelians fetteth downe most lively Satans puiffance. But let vs fee a little neerer the diuels policie, of what force & efficacie it is. especially in those things which concerne the ruines of Gouernment. Common-wealth. change of a First although that the diuell knoweth then. not the state and affayres of Kings Princes in particular, as God from the beginning hath predestinated them in his immutable counsel, nor how he wil dispose and change them contrarie to the opinion of men & ordinarie course of things natural: yet notwithstanding the knowledge which men by the permission of almightie God, haue drawn out of the divine prophelies of ancient time, is not comparable to that of Satan, by reason he sarre surpasseth man,

Man inferiour in knowledge to Satan.

in

in fine, quick & nimble fubtiltie, which he vieth to his owne advantage. These Spirits know by the predictions of Prophets: that fuch Kings and Princes shall come to gouerne: besides, by what meanes Note. they shall attaine it, and by whom God will giue the Scepter into their hands: besides, when and how it shall be taken from them. And in one word, Satan Foretold. knoweth the estate of Government which must happen, and how long it shal endure, and the enemies which shal rife vp for the ruine of it. From these & fuch like revelations would they drawe their divinations. They have found out by the prophefies of Daniel the estate & chaunge of Monarchies which must happen, the ruine of Darius, the destruction of Asia: and that the Monarchie of Babylon shall be transported to the Greekes: By meanes whereof, when Alexander the Great confulted with the Oracles Oracle at Delphos, Pythias answered him. Eris inuictus Alexander: Thou shalt be vnconquered Alexander. And after-В 3 ward

Satans fubtiltie. ward for confirming, and giuing to his Oracle, he ceased not to shewe & wonders together with fignes vaine behalfe of Alexander. illusions, in the which way foeuer he marched with his on the contrarie not to daunt armie: Darius too much, he nourisht in him a vaine hope by doubtfull dreames. perfwading him fondly of victorie. against his enemie. For the temptations of Satan are of that fort, that they promise vs all ioy and happines whatfoeuer: no fooner they are entertained of but in their place commeth despayre, with a perpetuall torment. By the prophesie of Daniel and Esai, the knewe that the Monarchie of the Affyrians should be wholly desolate and uen into the power of the Medes and Persians, and that al this should be done by Cyrus. For this cause it was foretold, that King Cræsus should be chased and

Ambidexter.

Satziz aiz

Satan knoweth the scripture.

fpoyled of the kingdome of Lydia: And

Cyrus. Satan ceased not to moue and in-

might of

King

cite

therefore knowing the

cite Cræsus, by a bayte of ambition, to Cræsus conoppose himselse against the Persian Cy-quered.

rus. This being done, the Assyrians Empyre was spoyled, Cræsus conquered, and the Monarchie translated to Cyrus.

There is one especiall example farre furpaffing all that antiquitie mentioneth of Satans fubtiltie, whereby арраrantly he shewed the intent and effect of his whole treacherie: It was that of the great contemplative diuine Fam- Iamblich. blicke, who defirous to knowe the name of him that should in the Empyre succeede the Emperour Valens that then raigned, he made trial of it by a certain A thing vnfoolish (be it spoken with reverence to lawfull. fo wife a man) and most vnlearned diuination in this manner: He caused the Greeke Alphabet written to bee put by distinct letters, in the ground, and vpon euery one he placed a graine of Barley; in the midst a Cock, & the letters where A foolish the Cocke fcraped the Barley, should fignifie the thing he fo much defired. Now it happened that the Cock bared thefe

 $\theta \in 0 \delta$ .

these foure letters:  $\Theta$ , E, O,  $\Delta$ : yet now likewife he remained vncertain of the name which these letters fhould portend. Theodohus. difcerne whether it were or Theodorus.

Divination will beget Tyrannie.

Theodotus.

Emperour Valens feeing the euent of all this, & fearing fome false play, made

or

Theodectes.

The

(Herod like) all fuch to be put to death, as those letters did point out. He com-

maunded likewife, to fearch foorth the Divine. Famblicke, fearing the crueltie of

Emperour, by reason of the

which he had committed, (For it was not Vnmeete it lawfull in Rome to enquire into should be. the

> cession of the Empyre during the life Emperour) poyfoned of the himselfe.

But we shall finde for the most part that the diuell the more to delude men

these divinations. gaue his answers hid, darke. double, and doubtful, especiallie or ignorance.

> (which himfelfe when often happened)

> of the euent, being onwas vncertaine ly led by fuspicious and fleight conie-

without euidence of ctures. diuine re-

uelation, (as appeared by the doubt of

that

Doubtfull an/wers arque deceite.

that name which those foure letters might portend:) for not knowing the trueth, he talketh by circumstances and darke fignes, fometimes telling the trueth to gaine credit to his false lyes, A Caucat. feeing by a malicious instinct he striueth to obscure the trueth, to the great dammage of mortall men. For his delight is in falshood, and his ioy is in our That is the reason why hee vseth fall. & vncertaine thefe doubtfull answers. to the intent to abuse men by his ridiapish mockeries, and finally to culous bring them by a certaine feare, and a forrow of things to come, to most abominable wickednesse, in executing the felf fame euil, which before he had told vnto him, that inquired of it.

C

c

### [Conclusion of the treatise-proper.]

Numbers vncertaine.

But concerning any certaintie, or coniectures in numbers. either true of yeares or fuch like, wherein Master Bodin & others are too curious, I let them matter impertinent and passe as things of too nice & nimble conjecture. by the difference of dreames. whereof wee haue fpoken before, by the diftinction of their kinds, likewife by the generall exposition of divinations, lawfull and vnlawfull, it may be vnderstood and eafily knowne, how to applie them to alteration and chaunge of a Comthe mon-wealth. There be alfo other forts of Diuinations besides these. but be O 2 caufe

cause they cannot serue to judge of the change of states (by requiring a whole treatife themselues, & being most lear- My L. Hennedly handled of others) I haue determined wholly to let them passe, as onely purposing to note out the principall and generall rules feruing for this pur-But as of all the meanes and rules pofe. which haue been observed from antiquitie, to confirme the iudgment concerning the chaunge and fall of a Common wealth, there is none necessarie, al- No rule nethings ceffarie to iudge of the though God fometimes permit fall out according to their naturall chaunge of a therefore it becommeth vs like-Kingdome. courfe : wife to attend patiently the ende & the euents of all things, as God hath determined in his immutable counsell, without prefuming too farre, by too great a curiofitie vnbefeeming our blind and capacities. And although dull bv reaof our weaknes wee cannot found fon the vnderstanding of the depth of those predictions. which God hath made. fometime by fometime by one meane, other;

We ought to marke Gods threatnings.

other; yet notwithstanding wee must not cast aside his threatnings, seruing to aduertife vs of what must happen, to the intent to auoyde the scourge of his wrath (nor yet esteeme them as farie, and that God cannot turne them but on the contrarie to good:) wholly rely vppon his mercie, which is infinite towards them which repent in fit and conuenient time: confider what wee obserued bv discourse of hiftohaue according to ries. and our capacitie. touching divinations in this kinde, lawfull and vnlawfull, to the intent that by their difference it may bee the better iudged, what shall happe for the chang and ruines of Common wealths, and of the estate of Realmes, and Empires: not to the intent to fet downe certaine rules generally of whereby to diuine things come, against the might and authoritie of God, or to giue occasio to some. fuperstitious and relye vpon to foolish vanities; but to the intent to judge by things past, of thinges to come, and by O 3

The scope of this whole treatife.

that

that which hath bin, of that which may bee, according to the naturall course appoynted vnto all things by God himfelfe.

ENG-



# ENGLAND TO

# HER THREE DAVGH-

ters, Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court, and to all her Inhabitants.



F from the depth of intyre affection, I take vpō me to deale more plainely, then your honorably augmented dignities will well permit; or from too

loue, ouerweyingly valew you Libertie of fervent a at too high a rate, perswade your selues mother. (if these be my faultes) that the name of mother hath a priueledge to excufe them both: and howfoeuer mother a her daughters, might fitly to more fpeake in fecret and not hard, yet feeing my naked trueth defires not to shroude

A thing not possible.

All Europe bound to England for her daugh-

ters.

it felfe from my greatest enemie, I chalkingdomes that haue lenge those children, to be witnesse of my talke; if either there be folly in me, for to loue so much, or fault in you to deserue so little, then let the blame me of too blind affection: and accuse you of not deseruing, and fo speedily from Fames book will I cancel out your praife, and recant my loue to a mothers shame. But if I (iuftly fortunate) haue high caufe commend you. & Europe for your fake. hath greater cause to commend mee: then may I not lawfully with a mothers fhew the affection of a grandmoloue. to commend your children? ther. my reuenewes fuch. although are cannot giue you large patrimonies, yet my mouth shall the whole world from take notice to giue you eternal praises. The time was (and happie time may I fay) when in the glorie of my age, in the prime of my youth, in the honor of my dayes, in the fame of my defert, in the multitude of my friends, I matched with Sige-

Sigebertus fometimes my louing huf- Anno Dom. behauiour 630. Cam-bridge founhowfoeuer band: and my farre from lightnes, my manners ded as fome my modestie from write, loofenes, and the least suspect, yet I was taken in the corrupt mindes of fome fewe, to be too familiar with Cantabrus the K. of Spayne, the supposed father of Cambridge my eldest daughter: but to excuse my selfe. (though there was no cause) I protest I was free from fuch adulterie, lawfullie married to Sigebert: by him was begotmy eldest daughter Cambridge: and fuspitio only proceeded from the this. that Cantabrus feeing me happie for fo fweete a childe, was defirous to christen it, and calde it Cambridge, and after from Athens fent for fome to nurse her. Then after Sigebertus death (fweete daughter figh that he died fo foone) (for legacies farre greater would he haue left thee) deuoutly. I matched at last courted (wearie of my widdowhood) with thie Alfred: of him (fweet daughter Ox-Anno Dom. and howfoeuer 800. Oxford ford) was thou borne: founded.

P fome

Caius de antiquitate Cantab.

of difcord haue fome fhadowes bin betwixt you two (a thing vfually incident to your fex) which of you might challenge the first place; yet I must needes confesse this, I lived long comforted ondoubting ly with one childe; I should haue been aged and past childbearing, and then to my perpetuall comfort thou borne. (fweete Oxford) was And howfoeuer thy elder fifter may challenge that she hath lived longer, yet cashe not boast that either I have loued her better, or that the her felfe hath deferued to be loued better. More fruitfull Oxford hast thou bin: (neither herein doe I comend thee) but more proudly iealous (Cambridge) of thy honor hast thou been; yet both of you fo deare to me, fo equally beloued, fo worthily accounted of, fo walled with priviledges,

Cambridge more anciēt,

Both admirable & both matchlesse.

bee

your

famous.

fo crowned with all kinde of honor, as both (vnequall to bee compared with each other) may in the highest tearmes

preferred before the most

that Europe hath: the strive not betwixt

your felues, but both be vnite together: ionne hands, and if famous Alexandria, Alexandria honour, not compathat fometime liued with high who now lieth buried in her own ashes, were flourishing, to make comparison. let her knowe that within your walles. (howfoeuer you reuerece hers for their age) are many as famous as Athanasus, many as full of learned varietie as Cle- Doctors in mens, and many farre more foundly re- & Oxford. ligious then them both. Ioyne I fay together and striue both to grace your The Innes of not court. (daughter frowne youngest fifter that I tearme thee youngest:) (daughters frowne not that I tearme her your fifter:) for although she cannot bragge of the fame progenie, nor hath receiued fuch ample legacies from her deceased father, yet her beautie, her modestie. her owne behauiour, hath matched her with fuch noble families, both of you may be intertained by her, Both Uni-& haue your children graced with her uerstities stand in need are both growne fauour: you into of the Innes good yeares, grauitie befits you. But she of court.

P<sub>2</sub> is

The mother
of peace.

The fountaine of policie.

The Innes of court falfely flandered to be too loofe in the educatio of her youth.

is young, stately, courtlike, and such a one as scornfully can answer her proudest suters; nay her children are so valiantly wife, as when my fubiects difagree fhe makes them friends, when you fall out she endeth all strife, & to whom I have committed now in my age the gouernment of al my fubiects: then repine not at her happines, if you wish that daylie she may growe mine: honourable. And howfoeuer I more haue heard complaints, that she hath receiued fome of your children, and rished them so much, that she hath made yet (daughters) them wanton, the is not hers; you your felues having bin ancient mothers. well iudge. that can youth plentifullie youth (and ftored with all fauours) can hardly be restrained to a stricter course: she hath been careles, plentifully to fet before and worthie mirrhors them graue of wife fobrietie, who if your youth would emulate. thẽ fhould you caufeles complaine of her kindnes: And for her, this muſŁ

must I fay (though I heare otherwise) Carefull of that kindely, louingly, and wifely she re-fities. fpecteth you, as her elder fifters. Neither can it be. (howfoeuer perhaps shee might perswade her selse) that if I should liue to fee you buried (O vnfortunate if I liue fo long) that (fweete daughters) alone could be fufficient to comfort me; nay my age and her youth, both fo neerely depend vpon your welfare, as if either yee dye (which I dare not thinke of) or be offended with vs (which I will The Innes of cafe, court not anot suppose) the desolate were our and both of vs like to be feene ruinous. furnish England with then (daughter) Account of them as wisdome. vour elder fifters. and howfoeuer vou are youthful and full of fauour, yet they are aged & full of honour: And though it be the part of a mother equally to refpect you all three, yet at my husbands fute (hee liuing) I fo bequeathed mine honour vnto them two, as the stay of Universities the flay of a onely. land. our house remaineth in them Then I intreate thee (daughter) by the loue which thou bearest to mine inhabitants: P 3

bitants: by the care which thou hast of thy owne fafety: and lastly by the duetie which thou owest to me thy mother, all respects to fauour thy sisters honour: in all causes chiefely to intend their good: and to bind those with a facred vowe. who are thy posteritie, to feeke their glorie whilft the world dureth. Stately Greece, who fometimes was famous ouer al the world, had long fince beene buried in the eternall forgetfulnes, if of darke her daughter Athens had not lincked her children marriage, with families the greatest in all Europe: And renowned Florence (daughters giue leaue to aduance mee petegree) (not halfe ſо your nobly descended you are) being as begotten by Silla his fouldiers, a Pagan, borne in the dayes of infidelitie, had neuer been reputed as the flower of Italie, if laure-Dantes, Accurhus, at Petrarch. Aretin. and lastly the famous Duke had not made her indeard to the most ned in all Greece. And Padway eternizing

Athens.

Ante aduētum Christi 90.

Cosinus Medices.

Padway.

zing the river Po, had been long fince in the middeft of her diffresses, rased out famous memories, if Rome live-making Liuie had not beene noted to de-Liuie. Then flourish (kinde fcend from her. daughters) all vnited in that manner. that the world may knowe your poste- A happie ritie to bee fo linckt together, as that Vnion. my loue cannot bee greater to you all, then all the worlde may fee that yours is amongst your felues: Cambridge thou like the Queene of the Amazons, my honour accepted the proude for challenge of the Roman Champion; and Campion. thy children haue often fince fo valiantly withstoode their learned foes. Rome can neither advance her Bellar- Confuted by min: Louan her Stapleton, (nay mine by D. Whitaright) Rhemes their margent: or the Confuted by proudest of them all, fay, they have da-D. Fulke. red mee, and I have not answered: nav thy other fifter hath been fo forward in that kinde, as the woundes shee made, Humfrey are not yet cured. And if at home anv Reinolds. base pefant, not valewing thy worth, vpon

Puritans, Politickes, Atheists, Law must cut these off.

A thing often done.

Your Towns-

vpon prefumption fhall do you wrong, hardly either intreating your children, their denving them names of honour, defrauding them of their land: detracting from their fame: your youngest fifter shal be so incensed with it, as humbling their pride, she shall cause them to repent their boldnes: and think daughters, I intend not to fee you want, for no fooner will I heare that you are diffrefredresse your fed, but my nobilitie shall my citizens ſhall relieue wrong; your my fouldiers want: and ſhall procure your peace. And for your fcoulding neighbours. vouchfafe not daughters to contend with them: humble not my honour fo lowe, as to mate it with fuch Knights. Paris, wife was thy Jameane phets progenie, who made thy Sequan to parte thy towne and thee. And great Charles, thou wert great in this, to forean Vniuersitie fee and a towne. could agree: My youngest not well daughter it was thy case, to have one of thy children vndeferuedly endangered bv thy often

the Lincolnes neighbours. often relieued But as Inne by the excellencie of the object corrupts the Chancery and Lyons are neuer fo furious. lane. as at the fight of a red colour: nor the Elephants fo vnruly, as at the shew of Mulberie; fo my ignorant inhabitants are no where fo rude, as placed fo neare a funne: my Lyons are no where Ly ons. fo furious, as feeing your fcarlet gowns, nor my Elephants fo vnruly, as tasting of your powrefull and poyfon killing mulberies. I would exhort you in more ample tearmes, but that I knowe your patience, and control them in a sharper manner, but that I fee their furie: betake your felues to more high atchieuemēts. Let your aged fit downe, and rest them Honour your in honours chayre; fet your children to Doctors. triumphing fongs for their write mothers victorie: shew your quick discerning eyesight in these deceiving times. the world fee, that amongst your children, wit hath fruitefully growne, vntimely, niggardly blafting age: wherein though blackemouthed enuie Rayling repine Asses. Q

е

Young men fhould write and inure themfelues in fmaller matters,

euery choyce conceit, tearrepine at ming it, either time or wit, or both idleimployed, yet my true discernement and a mothers loue, makes mee tearme them natures works, made with paring pride, in these latter times fliew their excellencie: Yet follow not fo farre the conceited imitation of mer time, to take trifles for subjectes to work vpon, as therein meaning to make art wondered at that worke of nothing. Thousands of objects might bee found out, wherein your high fpirited muſe might flie an vnmatched pitch, & Phœnix-like fire her felfe into immortall a-So onely without shes by the Sunne. eternallie should you liue: compare, your children shall the loue-writing divine Sydnay, and the mufe of of Chrystallin flowing streame Spenser furuiue onely: write then of Elizas raigne, a taske onely meete for so rare a pen: it is easie to give immortalitie to an euer-liuing Empresse: or if this bee matter, which the basenes ofthefe

A fit taske for the finest Scholler.

worth-

worthlesse times, would hardlie prefer before trifles, a thing fufficiet to accuse this age of treason) then take a tragicke stile, & mourne for the trulie Hon. Fer- The late dinandos death: whom though fcattered worthie teares have honoured in fome few fon-Darbie, who died April nets, yet he is a true worthie object of e- 1593. uerlasting mourning for the facred Neuer efor- nough lame-Muses: who languishing with late row for the fathers death, want strength Who died, and leafure to weepe for the Sonnes ehim fweete honour daughters clipfe: children, who liuing honoured you: and control with the muses pen the repining fates, fo farre as giue him immortalitie, defpight and cause him liue to them. Cantabrimy giæ lachri-Thus wept you for famous Sydnay, braue fouldier: and men Hon, are onely fit to be mourned for by your Muses: which if being made forrowfull they require larger matter to mourne for. Then name but Hatton, the Muses sauo-Sir Christo-Learnings pher Hatton Churches musick: the rite: orna- lor of Eng-Patron, my once poor Ilands land. ment: the Courtiers grace, the Schollars Q 2 coun-

the

Guardes

and

countenance.

taine. Thames I dare anough wil become teares: the fweetest perfumes of euerie Court will be fad fighes: action fhall accent griefe; honor and eternitie shall striue to make his tombe, and after curious skill and infinite coft. ingraue this with golden letters. Minùs merito: the fainting Hind vntimely chaſde fhall trip towards heaven, and tandem h shall be vertues mot. Or if fad Melancholie (daughters) difpleafe vour Muses (a thing well agreeing with my age) then take the course to canonize your owne writers, that not every bald ballader to the prejudice of Art, may passe current with a Poets name, but that they onely bee reputed Hon. by that tearme, that fhall liue priuiledged vnder pennes: For not precise Aristarchus, aged cenforing Cato, might challenge greater priviledge of trueth, then your free toongd and vn-aw-bound skill: 1 fpeake this (daughters) not to that ende to make your children like the peremp-

Aurea puluereis, præftant æterna caducis.

A thing fit onely to be done by the.

tory

tory Criticks of this age, but to difwade you from the fault of the common people, the cruel mislike of your owne, and intollerable flatterie of strangers wits. And if this or fuch like be not matter, wherein your deare cherished muse may iustly delite it selfe, and sweetely please others, then sing of warres, and of the of learned valour: of Mineruas foe-dan-warres in Flaunders, ting shield: of Mars-conquering honor: on the Sea. of the Courts Loadstarre: of Englands 1588. Scipio: of France his ayde: of Fames glo- In Fraunce. rie: of the Muses eldest sonne: of Arts ornament: of vertues miracle: of Relihonorable, The every thrife gions champion: of & worthilie-worthie-honoured-noble-wohre belo-ued Earle of (Daughter *Cambridge*) was Effex. he In Trinitie fometimes thy care, thou now be- Colledge. art come his; bee proud that thou gauest fucke to fo braue a man; and affure thy felfe (yet flacke not to honor him) that A patron of milke the Univerhee will willinglie bestowe that (which is now made bloud) with inte-Innes of Court. rest in thy quarrel; howsoeuer slack not, but write; fleepe not, but fing; let your  $Q_3$ mor-

Sweet Master Campiō.

Britton.
Percie.
Willobie.
Fraunce.
Lodge.
Master Dauis of L. I.
Drayton.
Learned M.
Plat.

Ballad makers.

A work howfoeuer not respected yet excellently done by Th. Kidd, mornings muſe like Aurora blushing equipage, **ftatelieft** march her in her I know Cambridge howbuskind Poetrie. focuer now old, thou hast some young, bid them be chaft, yet fuffer them to be let them be foundly learned, wittie: gentlemanlike fuffer them to be quali-Oxford thou hast many, and they fied: fing fweetly when it are able to pleafe And thou youngest of all thee. in Hexameter English, thou either curious (but that thou learnedst of Cambridge) daughter or in any kinde thou art fo wifely merrie, as felfe (though olde) am often delighted with thy musicke, tune thy sweet strings, & fing what please thee. Now me thinks I begin to fmile, to fee how thefe fmaller altogether lights (who not vnworthily were fet vp to expel darknes) blufhinglie hide themselues at the Suns appeare. Then fhould not tragickie Garnier haue his poore *Cornelia* fland naked vpon uery poste: then should not Times complaint delude with fo good a title: fhould

should not the Paradife of daintie deuifes bee a packet of balde rimes: then should not Zepheria, Cephalus and Pro-But by the cris (workes I difpraise not) like water-greedy Prinme pluck euery passinger by the sleeue: Prostitute that they are then euery braineles toy should not v-contemned. furpe the name of Poetrie: then should not the muses in their tinsell habit be so Nor Poetrie fwaine; be tearmed Ryme. basely handled by euery rough then should not loues humour so tyrannife ouer the chaft virgines: the should honor be mournd for in better tearms. Cambridge make thy two childre frieds. thou hast been vnkinde vnto the one to weane him before his time: & too fond vpon the other to keepe him fo long D. Harney without preferment[:] the one is ancient, M. Nash. & of much reading, the other is young but ful of wit: tell them both thou bred the, and brought the vp: bid the ancient forbeare to offer wrong; tel the yonger Doctores li he shall suffer none: bid him that is free beri funto. by law, think it a shame to be entangled others of he fit for a in fmall matters: but tell the other, his Scholler to must leave to meditate revenge, for inueigh aaduer- gainst.

Great pittie.

adversarie (and let that suffice for al reuenge) (to learnings injurie) liues vnregarded. And daughter (but I lift

For fellowships.

chide thee) I heare thou art in preferring growne too partiall: thou louest

finisterly thy selfe. and has quite gotten me thy mother; it is thy fifters

fault, as well as thine, you both of you preferre fuch into your priuat fauours.

grace them with degrees, giue the pla-Many Graduats but ces; unmeet for the common

I will fay nothing because who strangers heare me) of all other

are most vnmeete to do me good: that which doth vexe me more, you fay

Lamentable when it is fo in a common wealth.

wealth.

all herein you are mother like: What? haue I preferd to dignitie in the Com-

mon wealth, fuch as the world in true estimate, haue thought vnmeete? I relied vpon them, as vpon Atlas shoul-

ders, who were vnmeete for fo great a Haue I euer ventured my felfe burden?

in the field vnder their enfignes, Did I euer imwere reputed cowards?

ploy in forraine matters, fuch as were for private causes? Nay. vnfit I protest

for

England great care in appoynting her officers.

for these 36, yeres I have alwayes cared take them nearest into my fauour, wif- The right acquainted with were best Honorable I relied vpon those in my LL. of the domes fecret. to priny Coun-*Nestor*-like, were peace, who wife preuent warre: I trusted to those in my Valiant capwho *Hector*-like were valiant to Learned procure my peace: I fent fuch into for- Embaffaraine countries, as birth made Hon. ex-Hen. Darby. perience wife; education learned: these haue beene my honors: and if I haue (children) they proceede from you. But I am loath to doe you the least Vniuersities wrong: and to charge you with vnkind-not to be connes in my last age: for vnlesse I have e-ry odde conceipt. uer doted (a thing easie in so great a loue) Fraunce my sister (for I will begin with her) cannot so much brag of Paris, The Vniuersities of Orleance, Lyons, Rhemes, or the proudest Fraunce, of all her children: as I may iustly of you not equal to ours in Engthree. Germanie hath painefull Bafill, and land. where Founded 1490. pleafant populous Frankefort: Ceres, Bacchus, the Naiades & Dryades do Founded march together, & yet these too meane 1506.

R to

to compare with you I passe by Italies

Anno. 1457.

of-spring, who of long time hath caried Ritch Veexcessive pride. her felfe with great Milnice. with her 400. bridges: proude Genua, fertill Bomonia, layn, aunhonorable noblie Naples. cient Rauema.(once Parthinote:) holy Rome, and faire Thus they were tearmed Florence. long fince. but now vnequall to compare you: Salernitana fometimes could with giue counsell, when she shewed her care and skil to my deare Henry, but now obfcurelie. lieth thee desolate: you may passe these farre, & prefumptiwithout compare with Toledo, Spaynes on uell: with Vienna fearefull to the Turkes: you are talkt of euery where, and falselie Rome goeth aboute to intice your offering children. them kingdomes forfake (daughters) to you: fpare not, take what I have and bestowe vpon them: let them not whilft I live. forfake you for want of liuing: my wealth

To King Henry 8.

The Papists diligent to gaine English Students.

chieflie

to

and possessions that I have, are intended

your good: and

howfoeuer either

### three daughters.

either the bafe cormorant, or the poore citie-vfurer, or the wanton fpend-thrift, All thinke they have haue more interest more reason take themfelues to in my fubstance then you haue, yet they to be richer scholvsurpe vpon my kindenes. and make lers. mee beleeue, that the two staies of my age (you my children for peace, and my fouldiers for warre) haue both enough: An untruth haue made lawes to augment your reuenewes by your rent corne: uided lately for my fouldiers, whe they Englands my chiefe care is of learning. were in want: credit mee children, care is of you onely; for vnlesse you direct them, their plentie is dangerous to breed rebellion: their force is doubtfull to make them disobedient: their honor likely to grow tyrannous, and what foeuer they injoy without you, to bee dangerous to the Common wealth. Let your children (daughters) content thefelues: leave to repine at baser fortunes: let them be perswaded of this, that Fame Schollers bee must learne shall be their feruant, Honour shall fubiect, Glory shalbe their crown. Eternitie their inheritance: (then in-R 2 deard

### England to her

deard wit decking admired daughters) write and let the worlde know that heauens harmonie is no musicke. in respect and well arte-tuned ofvour fweete. strings: that Italian Ariosto did but shadowe the meanest part of thy muse, that Tassos Godfrey is not worthie to make with vour truelie eternizing compare Elizas stile: let France-admired Bellaw. and courtlike amarous Roufard confesse that there be of your children, that these latter times have farre furpaffed them. Let divine Bartasse eternally praise worthie for his weeks worke. the best thinges were made first: Let ocountries (fweet *Cambridge*) ther enuie, (yet admire) my Virgil, thy petrarch, diuine Spenser. And vnlesse I erre, (a thing eafie in fuch fimplicitie) deluded dearlie beloued Delia. and fortunatelie fortunate Cleopatra; Oxford thou thv court - deare - verfe extoll happie Daniell, whose fweete refined muſe. in contracted shape, were **fufficient** amongst

M. Alablaster. Spenfer and others.

Lylia clouded, whose teares are making.

All praife worthy. Lucrecia Sweet Shakspeare. Eloquent Gaueston,

### three Daugters.

mongst men, to gaine pardon of the Wanton diftreffed Adonis. Rosemond, pittie finne to to Watfons Cleopatra. and euerliuing praife to her heyre. childrens So well gralouing Delia: Register vour may nie deserin Fames forehead. fo ueth immorfill volumes with *Chausers* praise, tall praise vou and from the had with Lydgate, the Scottish Knight, of that dilike, whose fuch vnrefined tongues uine Lady who like Cothis linna contefarre fhort of the excellencie of the ding with wrote fimplie and purelie age, as Pindarus And times when base weare. and in- was oft vito ctorious. iurious trades. the fworne enemies Sir Dauid Learnings eternitie (a thing vfuall) Lynfay. with Matilda hofhall either haue deuoured them. mouldie noved by so the fretting cancker worme of fweet a Po?. with Arabian time: fpicerie: with lifh honnie: with outlandish butter imployment for the (matters of aged dayes of our late authors) yet that then fuch (if you thinke them worthie) of bafe Grofers, defpite (whome I Prucul hinc. curfe, procul ite charge vpon paine of learnings profani. not to handle a leafe of mine) may liue by your meanes, canonized in lear- $\mathbb{R}_{3}$ ning

#### England to her

England to be defended by schollers.

m to

Your learned Doctors.

Cherish your youth.

The fault of Vniuersities.

I am loath to bee too nings catalogue. (wife long in my aduisements to you daughters:) and therefore heere T period them, wishing you (if neede bee) to make mine apologie: not that fainte maintaine the least parte of my dit, felfeagainst any male-contented fubconceited. vnregarded malicious iect, but that Europe in this age, delited things personall, fhall with vpon the theater in bring mee matter of fuch defignements, to stand (against inhabitants) to the my owne fauourable of their wife Cenfors. courtefie Daughters followe their counfell. and fuch, as I honour haue for wifedome loued. for veares and authoritie appointed to rule ouer you: let not your despise children their younger aged brethren, loue them as becommeth mothers, and I will fend for them in convenient time (as their grandmother) gouerne my common wealth. And because shee shall not thinke I neglect her. reade

# three Daughters.

reade what I have written to mine inhabitants in her behalfe: iudge how I stand affectionate; God graunt you may all followe my aduife, so shall I sinde you trustie, and you me to be moste louing: then shall the world feare mee, for such worthie children: and enuie you for so kinde a mother. But heere (children) I must ende with you, and speake to the rest of my wise inhabitants.

ENG-



# ENGLAND TO AL

HER INHABITANTS.



F the fad & iust complaint of a mournful (vniustlie wronged) mother, would giue my teares but truce fo long as my tongue had told my tale; then

could I eafily perfwade my felfe, that a matter fo full rathe should gaine pitie, and that thefe often stopped periods But feeing should gaine credite: faults done by fuch as had no reason to wish me euil, & my grief increased by those, who might iustlie haue been my fort; giue me leaue to leaue those, who vnkindly forfooke me, and exhort thẽ, whom aboad tearmes English men; nafled the land. ture children; and dutie subjects. And

She Speaketh not to those that haue

England too kind.

herein

herein first foreseeing the euils to come I will renew the speech of the Romane Orator in the case begu in the perfon of Africanus. This age having re-" into her hands the Common-" ceiued wealth, resembling a table of most cu-" rious and exact workmanship, yet ob- " (as it were) and darkened with " fcured old age, doth fo blame her felfe that a-" nie shal go about to renew her colours, " that she hath not so much as care to pre-" ferue her rude darke dimmed and ob-" fcured fhadowes: for what is left now " of the ancient Romane manners, which " happely fometime fustained the Com- " mon wealth? Where is now that wor-" thie and ancient honor due to the lear-" ned Student and couragious Souldier?" These are so long since worne out of " florished. " vse. as Rome that sometimes feemes now to want the verie remem-" brance of them. It is needfull therefore " that I should awake the eternally famo-" fed personages of olde, who lived once " now " honourable to their countrie, but S lye

"lye dead, and their vertues buried with

"them, because few or none can be foud "to followe their example. Wee liue to "render an account for this offence, but not found faultie "God graunt wee bee "and chastised for our labour: for it is "not by chance but by our finne, that we "haue but the appearance of a state well "gouerned, the trueth whereof we haue "loft long fince. This Orator weighing the vertue and honestie of the ancient Romanes, against the ambition & tous demeanour of his time, found that his feare was not causeles, for the ruine of the Common wealth. In like manner may I poore desolate and distressed caidoe, if within my bowels vntimely tife bred by my owne follie, be found fignes of greater daunger; and not fo much remaining the verie name of as honeftie: for to my vnfufferable & vnpitied griefe, Modestie & Sobrietie changed are all into manner of diffolution. There could not bee found amongst them in

Rome alte-

The commo wealth miserable, that hath her foes within her selfe.

Excesse of these times.

forefathers fuch

needles

the fober times of our

needles excesse of all superfluities: they were fober, frugall, and full strength, fit to labour the earth and to weild armes, knowing, as Alexander the Great made remonstrance to them Macedon, who sawe Darius his armie fhine with gold, that all that fumptuous showe should bee nothing but a richer fpoyle to them which were clad with Late is the time fince the Lowe Not fafe for yron. a a countrey to bragge of Countries. Images of my state, and whereby to addresse glaffe felfe: wealth if the my fince the Duke of Burgonie, as Cominæus know it. of writeth, could gaine nothing the Swizard for his poore pouertie: howfoeuer in Cæfars time, conquering ambition that ment to make the Romane :Eagle pearch vnder the Northpole, could hardly bee content to fuffer me to live free from invasion. yet now abundance hath made me an mv eye fore to my neighbour Kings. and the fuperfluities of fome hath made vaine the world believe that my Albion cliffes are white rockes of pure Diamont: and S 2 that

The fault of Empires.

that vnder pretence of burning coale. my poore inhabitants digge our mines of burnisht gold. Sparta howfoeuer thy wife counfelling Licurgus aduifed often, yet vntimely didft thou perish by And Rome late mentioned this meanes: infamie. hadst to honours thou been spoyled by the Gaules sought vnto by the of Carthage, facked by the Gothes & Vādals, if thy streets had not bin hung with tapestrie, thy Matrons brau'd it in their golden chariots. and thy voung men vnaduifedly lasciuious (as mine this day) doe at neglect their borne poore, and brag of their wealth. make challenge by proclamation as to the whole world; what can this bee. but vntimely fet me to faile? make me pray to the neuer glutted couetuous monster? enuies marke: & that which my owne cannot fpend fast enough prodigalitie, that caufe to others rob me of by tyrannie; and that which is worst of al, sewe or none (but distresfed I) consider the harmes caused by thefe

For to remember the times Lawes for these euils. neuer to be forgotten, when old Brutus fobrietie, the lawes prohibiting these in- Kingdome. liu'd. feuere temperancies (which howfoeuer made abundance feeme to fleepe at this feuere discipline strengthned with my the finewes of Common wealth, forbidding me thereby to come to diffolution and couetouinesse; imitating their estates who have highly risen by observation of such lawes, and by their gained that continuall paynes, fame, Plentie and O ease the Cawhich I loofe by my perpetuall eafe. kers of a if those ancient lawes, if those strict and Kingdome. feuere customs had renewed their force in the midst of me, they would have ferued to haue remedied my euill, by want whereof I feare my state shall be no better then Rome or Sparta; betwixt whom thefe lawes (hauing lost their vertue) in ftead of emulation for woorth in true they proudly bandied vaine ti- Proud Kinghonor. tles, striuing which should be most pro-domes must and thus each corrupting other, digal; both became fo diffressed, that thev  $S_3$ were

How Rome fell.

Loofe pleafure begets treason.

to retaile that were compelled which they had bought by groffe, and in the end remaine a perpetuall example of memorable vengeance, and fo make Rome subject to Casars Tiberius. and other tyrannies. Behold a true mirrhor which makes me fee my fentence to bee iust; and that there is no plague more deadly poyfonfull, then pleafure, whose rash defires prefume vpon gouernmet, and not fearing to touch her facred throne, fill the land ful of treasons: the fubiects full of impietie; and in the end I doth ruinate the whole state: This by fundrie, whose might witnesse exceffiue pride and intollerable pleafures putrifying the ayre. haue filled their houses with contagion, fiered their walles, and the earth as wearie hath de-But that which besides uoured them vp. these (for these I filently passe as being but the faults of some fewe) which doth make my feare to increase daily, & the warlike engine that ploweth furrowes in the armie) shall batter downe the

the walles of my peace (if prouision in Discord vntieth the artime preuent not so foule a mischiefe) is mour of a the hatefull difcord vntying those firme common knottes, which once bound my armor fo faste about mee, that I contemned open violence, as being too weake to enmee, and fcorned vndermining counter foolish treacherie, as being too my prosperitie. fupplant For are now become thefe renowmed of our forefathers? thefe refolutions fometime vfuall to Happy daies. mine inhabitants? those jealous mindes impatient of strangers pride? vniting themselues, least forreiners should doe them wrong? what is become of that once vied true-hearted loue towardes me their countrie? hath not enuie. dissimulation and needeles difcord, fo shaken the pillars of my age? the staye of mine honor? the fortresse of my Iland? and the posteritie of my land? that my divines may fay, Ephraim is against Manasses, Manasses against Ephraim, and both against Juda; that my tragick-writers

Miserable
state that is
so.

ters may compare me to poore Focasta that Eteocles Pollinyces and haue both them forgotten that wombe one bare both: fmale distance those parted but which fo often them two teates. gaue both fucke. could that (hatred) afnor possiblie death liuing hatred. ter proceede from poore Iocasta: And let these speake, (if shame will let them speake) if the least shew of harme, the smallest shadowe of iniurie, if pretence were giuen of the least wrong by my meanes: did I fpoyle them of their wealth? and close lie folde them to be a praie to strangers? banish without cause, did I their kinfemen, wiues, or children to liue diffreffed in a forraine countrie? did I hide nigardly the benefites of peace, mv plentie from them? Let him answer that is most vnthankeful, hath iust cause been offered on my part, why difcorde distracting my inhabitants, fhoulde me open to the spoile of mine enemies?

Let the traitors accuse me if they can.

A thing done in other countries.

Yet these no causes to be rebellious.

Discorde.

Whom God keepeth in despight of them.

poore

fur-

my princesse

could their cause proceed from

Iland, that I should have

furprised by treason? my nobilitie de- A thing ofte attempted. famed by flander? my ftatelie buildings Lybels. vndermined by tyrannie? and my felfe my fortune? left comfortles to lament it (english men) (for though cruelwas forbids, yet kindenes makes mee fo tearme you) was it (I fay) any iust cause, but fuppofed, by my meanes? I am loath No Iland ca re- remember greater bevpbraide your vnthankfulnes, by you nefits to her membring of my fauours. Haue inhabitants. not had (and fo long may haue,) vnleffe your felues be injurious to your felues. Princesse truelie nobled with all vera Oueene matchles, in whome ho- Elizabeth. tues. nors vnsteined pure die, hath set foorth colours, fuch liuely as enemies must doe) feare: friendes ought and (and should loue: whome the age now prefent must admire, and the time following still praising, wonder at; more courchurle-fauing Abigal: the teous then the friendes-honomore courtly then ring Hester: more valiant then princekilling Judith; who bleffing me by her meanes with a plentious peace, & beau-Т tifying

No pen able to praise sufficiently.

eternall praise, tifying her courte with hath made both to bee enuies marke in fhadowing Cedar her enemies eye; the to her diffressed friends: and the force professed conquering fworde to her There might my muse dare to flie a foes. that faintinglie, matchles pitch, but feel my Fcarian wings to melt with the heate of fo bright a funne, this onelie fuffice further fhall without repeatings of her worth, thereby to make your faulte far greater conceiued with accented with fighes; and vttered bv truethes naked oratresse : that what praise euer wisdome gained (as al praise is but wisedomes due) that same is, and shall bee your (facred princesse) her heritance, who hath fo often contended whether her glorie might mount higher vnto fames tower, blowne vp with the vowes of mortall men; or her thankes afcend further vnto heauen. conueved by thousand Seraphims. Liue the, though to fee mee fad forrowfull (diuine and renowmed Empresse) earths glorie, religions

comfort, admired wisdomes ligions heritrix, here perpetuallie to bee and elfe where immortallie fed of men. to be crowned of God himselfe. Haue No land fo and many. you not had thousands of worthie braue ladies bewtifying poore me. who all feeme veftall-like to haue lighted lampe, from virginities the euer-burtaper of chafte Elizas vertues? ning Haue you not had in me (things hardlie Graue and found else where) fage and wife Nestors, wife Counwhofe wisedomes England fuch state guiding still had. not The stregth equalize (if it were were able to the of a kingdom your faulte) mee a poore Iland to are lawes. monarchies: were but thofe fa- and their excommended ecution the and enough mous neuer meanes to lawes, made by them in their deepe fcan-expell feare from her then fubiects. ning iudgements, practifed by you, how shuld I iustly pride it in my worth, England may iustly & bee valiantly couragious where now glory of her three daugh-I feare? have you not had for the fpace ters. of these many yeares, though but two, famoused vniuersities, 1. Cābridge. eternallie vet Cambridge and Oxford, where Englands 2. Oxford. youth haue learned fuch worthie pre- 3. Innes of cepts, court. T 2

as ill beseemes the to requite cepts. with ingratitude? Thefe ferue fuch beautifie (in their want) my plentie with their wisedom, whilest vou (vngratefull in your pletie feeke through their vou) to contemne their wisedome: want, Ι iustly complaine for them, but could that I want teares to expresse my owne for I fee those who most forrowe: (if benefites receiued bound to respect them, in the iniurious binde) learned-modest-naked-hunoinigo of militie wrongfully to depriue them things necessarie: And least they should glorious. to obscure the too grow too farre to learnings infamie. I cease to refmaller fauours, (matters iuftpeate the ly deferuing a thankfull loyaltie) tent my felfe with these: that for the greatest benefites that euer inhabitants enioved fince Paradices first erection. I diftreffed Iland haue (by discord of my owne) lamentably indured the greatest my enemies wrongs: haue feene into the feed plots of my difcord long

Note this.

A thing miferable when the Vniuerfities are poore.

A wicked policie.

An vndoubted truth.

The Spaniard.

and

and haue found them to threaten my ruine, they have bred dissentions. and Pope. de- Frenchmen.
Scots and all make me nourish them to my owne the laugh at our struction, they have strook fire into discord. tinder of my foft heart, and haue made me blow it till I burne to ashes. Is it the The cause of this discorde. inequalitie of codition that makes discord? Is it the might of some few ouershadowing the meaner, that fils cannot liue A Kingdom with enuie against mee? I dreamed) cannot stand howfoeuer Plato foolifhly without inebut my harmonie must bee made of di-qualitie. uers founds; my finewes must bee of fundrie strength, and my states full of inequalitie: yet for all this the meanest The moderafhall tion of inecan haue no wrong, the greatest qualitie. do no violence; I wil liue neuer to permit a tyrannie: both equal deare to me, whereof neither fuffer danger, but can I must needes perish: for thus to see either my Nobility (a thing not yet heard Lamentaof) or my Cleargie (a thing too vfuall) ble times. or my cities (a thing too commõ) or my fubiects (a thing too lamentable) fondly to difagree; what is it els but to breede T 3 within

within my borders wolues, which nished long since, by my Edgars means? and to nourish that flame which confumed Greece? I meane the enuie between Greece perished by difher two eyes, Athens, and Lacedæmon, to cord. the great contentment of their fworne enemie Philip, the King of Macedon, and shall not your hatred, discord, and such your owne infamies Beware (true like. tennifing English me.) make others fmile, make me perpetually mourne as folde to forrowe, and the the Spanish Philip more ioyfull then King of Macedon? Let vs not stay till we Dangerous cause of vbee vnited by our enemies crueltie. nion. ofte caused the Xerxes Greekish vnion. Shall they perfwade you (degenerous : mindes to bee perswaded) that it is better to fuffer tyrannie of a stranger, then inequalitie of a friend? (Deare countrimen) and fo still to be reputed (vntill extreamely you deferue otherwise) in humane bodie doe the hands, the feete, and the head, fall at difcorde among themselves? Is not a wound sometimes The praise of inequalitie. as deadly in the heele, (for fo perished

the

the thrife valiant Achilles) as dangerous in the head? Are not my parts so vnited amongst themselves, that the least iarre is a fault, the least discord a fall? Were I made fo absolute that I could stand, & haue no parts, then might iarres be, and I in tune: were I not a mother that bred you both, then might you diffent, and I not fall. Suppose some part of my Iland hath bewtie of townes, yet other parts haue fertiltie of foile: fome place hath wife inhabitants, yet others are valiant: fome are plaine, full of all pleafure, yet others are walled, as it were with mountaines, and full of all fastie: some are shadowed with thicke trees: to avoid heat, vet others are compassed with filuer streames, to beget colde: thus all partes of my Iland, and the particulars of my state are such, that each imparting dignitie, all of them make mee partaker of an absolute happines: so that whilst vnitie is maintained amongst my people, vniuerfallie eniove those benefites I (as looselie being disperwhich I lacke fed)

Equality not to be hoped for of strangers. fed by cruell difcord: alas: in what Comwealth can equalitie be Think you if I were fould to strangers, you were free from emulation, vnlesse it were by this meanes, by being misera-Philosophers fometimes ble? the red this, in their Common wealths: but foolish men are ignorant of the trueth. not founding into the depth of eterniwifdome, who ordained the ineties qualitie of things, to preferue each other: amongst the elements is not fire tempered with the water: in the bodie, the heart cooled by the lightes: in affections the foule the ruled by the reason, and what nature hath done thefe. shall wee thinke vntollerable in a Common wealth? Looke but vpon the where vnequall Can-Low-countries, tons bred fuch a fire, (increased by false reporte) that whilst fome boasting of their valour. did difgrace others, all haue bin in danger of the enemies conquest: and howsoeuer their gouvernours could not easilie see to what this ded.

Low countries dangered by emulation.

ded, yet lamentable experience hath. taught them now, that discorde is satall The disagreeto a Common wealth. ment of Italie was the overthrowe of Discord. their conquering empire: the fame made the Gaules subject to Julius Cafar, thus if Europe, the grandmother of vs poore Ilands, had not dealt by mifconstring her owne friendes, the Turke had not fo farre made entrance into Greece. Slavonia, Hungarie and other countries, that he should proudely dare to\* encounter \* And chathe German Emperor; and stand there-1594. by to threaten vs, like as a tempest vpon If Christians ioyne not tothe top of a mountaine, readie with his gether. ouerflow the valleyes. fhowres, to But what firme constancie can be expected vniuerfall palfey of all Europe? kingdomes vnite How can themselues. when I but one fmall Iland have a number of fuch contrarie mindes to harbor in mee? This might possiblie bee hoped A true rule. for, if wee had but learned this, that one of vs cannot perish without another: and as wee see in a firme pillard vaulte, v that

i

Note.

that some sewe stones being taken away, the other incontinentlie fall, and then in time ruines the whole worke: it with my state, whose contrarie minds may feeme fmallie dangerous at the first view. but fwiftlie (though vnfeene) Surelie the doth tumble downe. but groundes of our libertie, and foundati- $\mathbf{of}$ our Common wealth. which ons were laide by the mercie of God. the valour of our vnion; the relief of brethren, and the concord of all: if I were indangered by my allies, distressed and by the multitude of mv acquaintance, (as fometimes hath beene the state of Flaunders) whose enemies haue caufed bv corruption her **fupposed** friendes to divide her body, felling her to them that haue offered the vtmost farthing: then might I iustly blame (not you) but thofe whom coloured tearmes christened by the name of friends: but now feeing I haue relieued manie, fent fouldiers to take armes, not for my own, but for their good; feeing I opened not my

A thing to be respected.

my citie gates, to admit strangers, who ftrongest As fome have done. able to commaunde mv walles, but hoyste vp my sayles to conuey out my fouldiers to defend others: then let not mee perish by you whom I haue deemed no lesse deare, then my owne life: trecheries haue taught states, to take heed with whome they ioyne in amitie: and Demosthenes wished Greekes to take heede of this, which if they had wifely followed Amintas fonne and his fucceffors had not oppressed Greece by a fained amitie. Thus forewarned Nicolaus under vauld the Flem- A thing lamings forefathers, to take heede of forrainers, which if they had wifely followed, so many cities of trafficke had not been townes of Garrisons. But my ru-(if ine it vnhappelie happen, which If we our force, felues be v-God forbid) is not by strangers for they are too feeble to weaken my state: but by such as I kindely nourish in A thing too mine owne bowels: for whilft one hol-miferable if deth for Spaine, another for France, the So. third for the Lowe Countries, and euerie V 2 quarter

quarter of the land, hath fuch as being displeased with mee. are defirous please strangers; it must needes that my ioynts being racked with great a torment, I liue feeble, & confesse that mine owne inhabitants did my ouerthrowe: the gold and filuer mine enemies is able to preuaile as much (with my vniustly tearmed English men) as in the daies of Scaurus. Fondlie deceiued with a hope of are you to your minds, howfoeuer in flow thev pretend fo: for credit me that have tried it long fince, they meane nothing leffe.

England can not perish but by English men.

The Spaniard is foolish to hope so.

Note this.

But as Philip made the Athenians beleeue that he had pretences against the Olynthians, Plotenses, and others. passe further; but **Demosthenes** by told the citizens, that if Philip had once Olyntha and Corcyra, wonne who dethe Athenians, maunded fuccour of would not rest till hee had conquered whole Grecia: which by little and little he effected after. And howfoeuer (coũtrimen) Philip may perswade you, that his

his purpose is but onely to reforme religion, and to passe no further: yet vn- Trust him der this pretence, hauing gotte footing within your walles, harbor within your townes, and hands within your treasuries, you shall finde his entent to be farre otherwife, and neuer (vnles your wives conspire against them) to bee rooted Gine him an hauing obtained Corinth, hee inch he will out. Thus shall after come to ride vpon the backe of Greece: or as Cassius persuading the Heluetians, vnder pretence of alliance, and showe of a good cause, broched discorde, and so made France subject to the Romane Empire. For if Maximilian the Duke of Austrich durst say that hee treated of agreement with King Lewes An vfuall the 12. onely to be reuenged of the fe-  $\frac{policy\ at\ this}{day}$ . uenteen injuries which he had received of the French men (although they were fcarce thought to have done him any) what shall wee thinke the Spanyard will performe against vs, of who he suppofeth to have received fo many harmes. and fo foule dishonors? No (valerous  $V_3$ and

Offered to Iudas to betray his Master.

True English men.

Truth in a few is often victorious.

Valour begets loue.

noble Englishmen) credite and either the hope of Spanish gold, (a canker that hath fretted the greatest kingdomes) or the free passage a thing neuer thought of by them; but shewe your selues valiant, as you have bin; loyall, as still you should be, then shall you be conquerou[r]s, as still you may be. For Flanders had neuer bin fo firmely vnited with France, if Lewes the 12. being but then Daulphin, follicited by Pope Eugenius, and Fredericke the Duke of Austrich, to breake the counfel of Bafill, and to ouerrun the countrey, had not bin incountred with fome Flemings, and put to fuch famous flight, that he was constrained to praise their valour. and to make an alliance with them, which continued long after. The like had the French King stirred vp bv Fulius, who confidering their Pope anhath desired cient magnanimitie, vnited with the Flemmings, as the chief pillar of his crowne and kingdome: this was continued to them in the faid man-

ner,

ner, first obtained by their true valour. by Henry the 2, and after by Charles the 9. and so lately by these two last Henries. In like manner, if you continue as you have begun, to be vnited amongst your felues, to be fuspitious of forraine flatterie, to distrust (vpon al pretences) As still you the Spanish treacherie; then shall I slo-haue beene. riſh most fortunate, and cause them fue for my truce. That one conquest (when feas did fwel with fo great pride) obtained against their Nauie 1588. hath Note this. by Fames alarme been founded in the vtmost parts of the world, & hath made the Spanyard desirous of my fauour. And if I bee challenged to buy my peace at too high a rate, I will fooner ioyne with France, and lend him (as I have done) the riches of my land, the intrapped by Syrēs fongs, haue my beautie fo long comended, with Æfops Crow to let fall the Dangerous foode whereupon I liue. And howfoe [uer]- to ioyne with France by too much sweating is growne drie, and by too great bloudletting is waxen pale, and that for one crowne she hath

Fraunce poore by warres.

Not so faithfull as they should be,

fo manie, that now she is hath spent fcarce able giue her fouldiers to pav. And *Flanders* falfely wil howfoeuer their friends to buy their peace: yet let vs make this a rule of estate, that when kingdome extraordimight the of one the leffer should narilie groweth great, vnite themfelues. **fmaller** beafts as the the against enemies thev feare. though Spayne may feeme constantlie prodigalitie prodigall, (a wonder to possible constant) (and neuer without gold) the *Indian* fupplie of and France

needie, vet

kingdomes

may bee matter wherein to

ciuill warres hauing been fo long within her bowels, are only the causes of all

this miserie. I compare not the

thinke

that

(howfoe-

Why Spaine is so constant in her free offers,

poore

there

nes

uer

and

of these two

No great ods betwixt the if they had equall peace.

Beware of them both.

ballance them) but I am fure of this (as the case stands) I have farre lesse cause to suspect the Frenchman then the Spanyard: for his intent hath been as it was towards them of the Lowe Countries, when Charles the sist and the Pope concluded

cluded to ouerthrow and disperse them by their owne meanes: the pretence was religion, the commission was granted to the Bishop of Terracina: such like policies (as they thought) were not eafily found out. I cease to repeate and To Parry, that Babbington, to vtter the fundrie offers haue been made to my owne countrie men, feeding them with vaine hope and vncertaine promifes, to fell my wealth, my honour, my dignitie, and what I reputed excellent to the enemies hand: the prefent times, and the feare & dan-Lopez exeger scarce past, make me I must remem-cuted the 7. ber it. Nor are the malicious practifes against me, fuch, as zeale somtime kind-Religions fake; but in thofe led for daies when Spayne and I were both of Spaine not one minde, he courted me with tearmes onely an enedeceiuing my fimplicitie; he am-gion. halfe bitiously fued to obtaine my fauour; he fpake me faire but ment falfely; he was treacherous, I fuspitious, and so we parand doe thofe now within ted: my bounds (who tearme themselues Ca- $\mathbf{X}$ tholikes

day)

perfwade them-

Too great simplicitie to thinke so. tholikes

at

this

Take heede by others. felues that any religion were able to protect them from Spanish tyrannie? Looke a little into the Low Countries. (these I mention often. as tafting fullie of the Spanish furie) how did religion warrant them from the crueltie of Landeburg, Grisler, Rottenburge, and others? and how have they of late time bin free inualion for religions fake? from Haue readilie imbraced that which thev not call the Catholike religion? they they for all this free from the enemies inuafion? Haue they not yeelded their townes, payd fufficientlie for their fumption? and hath not Spayne maintained her ftraggling fouldiers by their Haue they not intertained fpovle? religion (nay, is it not feared they willing to forfake all) to pleafe the King of Spayne, and are they for all this any more quiet? Did poore America. who powred foorth her bowels to content them, purchase her quiet, with the im-

Inconstancie in religion is the mother of Atheisme.

religion?

nay,

together

bracing of their

ther with the intrals of her earth, did she not shed the purest of her bloud to satisfie those Spanish bloud-hounds? This trueth hath told vs. out of the vntrue The Spanish mouth of their owne Bishops. Hath re-colonie. ligion faued lawfull Princes that thev haue not violently been expelled their owne kingdomes, by the Spanish tyrannie? What countrie soeuer had to deale with them (as fewe there bee which are free from them) haue been forced to confesse that Spayne is humble till she Note this. get footing; but the ambitiously proud; that she pretends religion and promifeth largely, but that she cares for religion and performes it sparingly: yet her falfe zeale, smoothing her face ouer to the simple view, hath made her vnited to fome; deare to many; and vnfuspected to all. But such practifes haue been a tyrants cloake, which they haue cast about the to deuoure the Church. Such preteces haue bin masking weeds which they have worne in policie, the better to cast lottes for the Common-X 2 wealth.

wealth, then (credulous & vnwise

trie men) (for fo I may justly tearme you if you believe them) if either you meane to haue me liue, or fee amongst vou my fifter the Church to remaine and florish, credit no pretence whatfoeuer: admit no strangers to see the secrets of my land: approue none in hope gaine your falfely pretended religion; when you shal finde they slander me inconstancie, your but of brethren of herefie, themselues of pietie, and only to this end, the more easilie to spoyle and the more deadly, to poylon Church: did not the Babylonians thus accuse Gods people of false religion? the Romaines, haue they *Iewes* and vnder this pretece accused our Saujour and his owne disciples? Is not damned Mahomet a cause at this daye, why the Turke hath conquered fo many countries? and if there be one amongst them (as it may bee there are fome few) who defirous of our good, and wish vs are

An exhortation to England.

Spaniards like Iewes.

the trueth (as they tearme it) of the ca-

tholike

tholike religio, yet there are a thousand Hamans who will enterprife the ruine of Fewish nation, accuse them to the King of Persia, that they have a religion differing from his; but it is by reason of Spanish Ha-Mardo- man. hate, conceived against just cloake They preted cey: thus religion was made a pride : Religion but intend trefor treacherous and intollerable thus Absolon the patterne of these court-chery. ly politicks stoode pittying the Fewes Abfolon a at the courte gate, as though he had de-right Spanifired the helpe of their estate, but it was nothing elfe but an ambitious humour to obtaine a kingdome; in like manner deale the Spaniards with my catholikes fo tearmed at this day, they stand and court them, and say with Abfolon, your cause is good, but there is none that pitties you: O if I had the gouernement of these things, then should England obtaine hir auncient religion, Take heede: followe their former trust the not. would plentie: and thus the Iland that is now distressed euery day in feare of forraine inuafion, should be able to meete the e- $X_3$ nemie

nemie in the gate: the consciences that are now distracted, bee quieted, by taining of true pardon: fo shuld herefies be rooted out from amongst you, peace should be within your walles, and plenwithin vour gates: falfe-deceiuing smooth-tonged heart-stealing Spanish-Absolon (I deserve pardon, if my weake womanish nature in feare of my state. in loue to mine inhabitants, in care of fo good a cause should carrie mee by worfer titles) tearme thee but an**fwer** treacherous and flate-corrupting golde-offering Spaniard, doft thou fwade thy felfe (fondly deceived to bee perfwaded) that my true inhabitants can be refolued of thy good meaning? thou thinke that euer they hope Doft for peace in the middest of strangers? plentie in the middeft of tirants? For religion in the middest of Atheists? Nay it neuer hath been nor neuer shall therefore refolue thy felfe, that be: fome within mv borders doe heartilie desire, and earnestlie expect a free-

Let Spaine answere.

Note this.

#### her Inhabitants.

freedome of their conscience: yet these are neuer so soolish to thinke it ble, to be obtained by your meanes, nor so profanelie wicked, to admit of so bad a cause. And although some sew (and I perswade my selfe they are very sewe) may be found perhaps, as either being Atheifts without God. or Iewes without Christ, or monsters without naturall fection, who can bee content to pearce my bowels through my Princesse side, and so let forth my peace, or laie violent hands vpo mine annointed, to make my children to eate themselues: vet refolue thy felfe (and vainelie foolish refolue otherwise) that the most estranged Englishman from naturall loue. who hath loft his affection by long trauaile, or the loofest christian I harbor, Note this. who hath lent his affection to all pleafure, or the most desperate, whom need and extremitie haue made careles, or the deuoutest Catholicke, whom deceivedzeale and conscience haue made religious: shal euer fo farre estrange them be so.

felues

#### England to all

felues from an English minde? So much be alienated from my long bred loue? And lastlie so cruellie to wish me euill? That they would gates open my ftrangers? Proftrate my wealth the to Spaniard; and exchange my peace most cruell tirannie? Nay if they were all in armes and had vowed to admit a stranger, and the stranger readie (as perhaps you were, 1588.) to accept by licy, what you intended to keep by crueltie: yet if I should but frowne as discontented, & fay quid agitis? And name but England, the worthie love of me, deriued from forefathers. their would fo farre pearce into the English harts, that their fwordes drawne forth against their mother, would fpeedilie bee fheathed in you their murtherers: for if in all ages (fauing onelie in this laft, and amongst you) faith and promise hath religiouslie observed, to their verie enemies, then can you thinke they will falfify the fame to mee that bred them? And as for you who haue furpaf-

Let the Spaniard credit me.

S. George.

fed

#### her Inhabitants.

fed the false punicane gaining that brand Fides His-Carthage panica. of trecherie, which once was due, refolue vpon this poynt, that hee which punished the faith broken to the Turkes (at the Popes perswasion by them of Hungarie) by putting to flight Sigifmund the Emperor, and flaying Cardithe Popes Legate (who God himfelfe Fulian pall brought the meffage) hee I fay shall ne-will punif uer fuffer so great an injurie vnpunished, to me their mother. Let me then in kindenes perfwade vou (mv deare countrie men) that if trecherie be most odious, the that especiallie which ouerturneth a Common wealth: if ingrati- Note this. tude bee hatefull both to God and man. then that which is of children to mother: if credulitie bee a fault and argues want of experience, then to trust a stranger, a false dissembling and deceitfull tirant, must reproue vs of great leuitie: loue peace then & loue my peace, follow vnitie, but within my walles, for if neither inequalitie of condition, emulation of partakers, nor religion ought  $\mathbf{v}$ to

2

#### England to all

difunite vs, then this onely remai-

neth for you, that you be vnited with amongst your felues, tyed loue with affection towards your mother. bound with а facred reuerence towards vour Soueraigne, and carried with a wife fufpition towards a stranger: fo fhall pro**fperitie** bee mine inheritance: plentie the legacie bequeathed to my meanest England as a citie in vnifriends: and tie within it felfe: thus shall the vnion of Iuda & Israel make the people round about them to quake and tremble; this made Rome to coquer Africa; the Greekes to preuaile against Xerxes; & the Princes of Europe to preuaile against the Turke at Lepantho: which victorie had been farre if vntimelie more glorious, difcord had not fallen amongst them. The banish this, vnite your felues, yeeld not to gilded colours false and pretences; whether of religion or of friends.

O happie England if this happen.

Discord fatall to great attempts.

bring

or of promise, and especially with them who we know to be our enemies: let vs

against glittering hate - working

gold,

#### her Inhabitants.

anciët magnanimitie of braue gold, the Fabricius. who would neuer bee moued by the offers of King Pyrrhus. Thus ought you couragiously to vnite your felues, if you loue the glorie of your conquests, the fweetnes of vour libertie, the happines of your quiet, the liues of your wives and children: and if none of all these can moue you, yet thinke that I weepe for your fake the milke that fometime was your foode: that fweate for your feare the bloud that bred yours: that I figh for your cause the avre that gaue you breath. And as my owne part (fillie destressed as I confidered am) I haue the threatnings of God against my subjects lives: the to- The late kens fent me not long fince: the won-mortalitie the lowde table then ders that heaven shewed: the loffe of vfed, Ægypts speech that the dumbe creatures and all onely for this end, that I fearing first borne. might perswade you, and you perfwaded might make mee to liue without feare: vet I relie not so farre vpon Astrologicall reason, as vpon the strange Y 2 starre

#### England to all

starre 1572, the Comets that have appeared fince: the great thunder 1584. the terrible Earth-quake the first March the fame yeare: the strange innot long fince: the fearefull undations mortalitie that hath hewed downe my tallest Cedars, and moued (as it were) the leffer plants: yet I take thefe to bee meanes to humble me, least in pride of courage I ouerweiningly doe loue mν And now (daughter) feeing felfe. grow faint, I will cause two to speake in my behalfe, committed to me from eternities bosome: Religion and Loyaltie: (daughters) hearken, and these briefly fhall fpeake vnto you.

RELI-



# RELIGIONS SPEECH TO ENGLANDS CHIL-DREN.



T what time, Loue Religion brought mee from E-brought from ternities bosome, and loue. commaunded me like a Queene to dwell in earth, I then easelie

forefawe (which I now finde) that all Religion and falfly accuharmes. miferies, wants, tragedies, elſe the worlde what foeuer deemeth hatefull, fhould bee falfely supposed to proceede out of my wombe: and feeing I have now lived fo long till I finde it Religions trew, pardon mee to make mine apolo-Apologie. gie thus farre, that fince the day of my first birth, since I first shined weekely in Religion no these coastes, since the time I was called true cause of miseries in a (as I am) by Religions name, I neuer common cau-Y 3

desolate.

caused either Kingdome to be

to bee diffressed, people to de-Prince or any priuate perfo to be malespaire: In deede I must content. needes knowledge thus much, that at what time I was fent into earth, finfull man by reafon of his immortalitie, defirous of a deitie, and not able by the weakenes of his vnderstanding, to admit of me, forged vnto himfelfe a falfe, cruell, irreligious, proud fuperstitious vaine. pet, and fondly deluded, tearmed her by my name; then feeing her to haue fuch prerogative, finding her to rule over fo many fubiects, and fearing fhee banish mee to Heauen, from whence I first came; wee have been still in conti-T found those who nuall warres: baue my caufe, who been forward in haue plentifullie bestowed their wealth maintaine mee, and who have not feared to dye to doe mee good. And shee perfwading, that Trueth fent her

Note this.

Mans ignorance makes false religiö.

Superstition.

Religion and fuperstition at continuall warres.
In England many religious fauorers.

rect them, hath fo much prevailed with

howfoeuer for o-

ther

a great number, that

ther faultes (in the bloodie woundes of afflicted conscience) there is none Harmes for fo religion either fo careles without remorfe, or grieue not profanely wicked without feare, but either the that relenting at the faultes which they dooer or the haue done, remaine grieued: yet falselie fuborned by her meanes, neither the most fatall warres, dragging the infants from their mothers breafts, drawing them from out of their wombes, flaying them in their cradles, rauishing their wiues and daughters: wasting their countries. burning their houses, defacing their temples, violating their performing all crueltie: pulchers: getting all curtesie to those that were them: nor the borne amongst ciuill of peace perfor- Miserable flaunders in the time maliciouf manner. blindnes. against them in med who fought my prosperitie aboue their owne fafety: these and such like I say So doth Roof mealdus thought (and if ought elfe can bee Scotus. greater then these are) are done (and without remorfe) vpon the false fur- Superstition mise of true Religion. Iudge now, if e-is most zealous. uer

Among the Atheists of this age.

A faife acculation of religion.

Xerxes.

Zealle false.

uer creature of my innocencie (and I may boldly stand to instifie my own integrity) hath had greater cause to complaine of wrong: more iust reason fuspect violence: & more true grounds of vindoubted feare then I, that have fued and am not heard, have lowdely spoand not regarded, haue infinitelie deferued and not rewarded: It is objected against me that the first murder was committed bv my meanes, that had neuer laide violent hands vpon bel, if in religion he had not been farre more righteous. And if the Perhans had not supposed that to bee which the Greekes believed to bee most holy, Xerxes had not come from Aha to Greece, he had not spoyled their townes, burnt their temples, and done them thoufand wrongs (but falfely fupposed by my meanes:) Thus difcord grew betwixt the Egyptians and the Hebrues, and both contended which fhould bee followers: but if I had not been proudly confronted with a base strumpet, and that

that my honour had not been therein Religion imhazarded, wherein it was infamie to co-indignitie. tend, I had quietly rested, though with fome difgrace, and had lived contented, though with losse of credit. Nay, rather giue me leaue womanlike to complain (though hopelesse without reliefe) wrongs offered to my person; of offering, I have fuffered: instead I have received fuch manifest doing. fuch fuch The wrongs violence, apparant wrongs, as are infinite
which religifecret difgraces, fuch open iniuries: when I shall make report what I have on hath sufindured for my names fake, the red fea ing called reshall disagree (as once it did) and part a lig. funder, the Sunne shall be amazed (as fometimes it was) and stand still: shame shall darken it, and it shall hide it Religion felfe to heare the reports but what  $I_{\it tinuall\ and}^{\it hath\ had\ co-}$ haue suffered: at first I was put to flie great eneout of Ægypt with fixe hundred thoufand besides women and children, pur- Anno munfued by Cencres the King of Ægypt: and di 1517. if heaven in the middest of my distresse God knoweth had not made the raging fea to be a drie how to deli- $\mathbf{Z}$ land.

Affliction
may endure
for a time
but deliuerance is not
farre from
Gods church,

So the fier for the three children.

Superstition maketh dissention in the Church.

Libertatis amor flultū quid decipis orbem.

2 King 24.

land, fo many had perished for my sake. But then I must needes confesse after tempest came a calme, for humiliation Ι had honor, authoritie for feare, and stead of Agypt I possessed Canaan: and although the power of my almightie. from whence I came, casting a snaffle into the mouth of the red sea, made him that he durst not attept to doe me violence, yet I liued not long in the land of Canaan, but like a Nightingale, I had thornes to awake me, to keepe me finging, and foone after false she that tearmed her felf by my name, caused dissenamongst her children, & tion brought in daunger by my owne followers; me the diuided. were my fauorers together with Roboam and Jeroboam their Kings. not long after was I with Firael cut off from the house of David, and first transported into Assyria. where remained I captiue; then with Iuda making my habitation within Ferusalem, I was pitifully afflicted. lamentablie fpoyled, & cruellie taken by Nabuchadnezzar the of

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of the Affyrians, who pulled downe her walles, burned her temple & the Kings pallace, tooke away the golden veffels dedicated by Salomon to my vse, put out Sedechias eyes, bound him with brasen chaines, and fpoyled the bookes of my 2. Chron. 36. lawe, which after miraculously were restored by my Scribe Esdras: thus was I Religion still handled by the Greekes, Alexanders fuc-perfecuted. ceffors ruling in Syria, who would have compelled my people to haue yeelded to their maners, especially that proudly famous (and fo tearmed) King Antiochus, who tooke the ornaments and veffels of the Temple which had been restored by them of Persia, ruinating againe Ferusalem new built, forbad my burnt offerings, facrifices, and fuch like, How Gods enemies feek to deface me, and make me basely an to deface all nei- parts of reliexile to the Greekish ceremonies: ther was I onely thus handled by them. but those who at this day are my sworne enemies, I meane the Romanes, who ex- The Romans corner enemies to tended their Empire into that where I dwelt, placing their Images  $Z_2$ within

my Temple, fetting their within Eagles my portals, from whence ouer proceeabundance of superstitions: ded but Ι had been throughly wounded before that, by my owne countrimen at Christs deaths, who had given mee fo great a blow, as that (in iustice) for my fake they were facked by the Romanes, and to this present wherefoeuer they abide, are poore, practifing base trades, Ufurie, and Broaking, made subject to extreame tributes. paying continued and yet without houses, lands, or other possessions, not retaining so much as the shadowe of a Common wealth. that I cruelly was banished fro amongst yet notwithstanding all the calathem: mities which they fuffered, could keepe them from contending amongst their the Christians: they grounded poynts vpon the old Testament, so falfe that after al this they were chafed from France, England, Spayne, by reason of blasphemies which thev vomited out

The Iewes sinne the cause of their punishment.

Iewes V furers.

A miserable
state where
there is no
religion.

Many of the still persist in their sinnes.

the Mahome-

tists

against Christ Iesus: thus

tists tearmed my people Miscreants, vowed themselues for their fworne enemies. And howfoeuer thefe were Religion in harmes, which in the weaknes of my fa-great danger uourers I could not defende without owne friends. flight, yet if among Christians themfelues, I had not been purfued with as great hatred at this time, I should not haue complained of wrong: neede to feeing bloudie warres hane now happened betwixt those that were my owne children, where I their mother intreating in most kind tearmes, was not Contention exempt the ground could from daunger, nor them from fpoyle, let the world iudge, if euer any receiued greater wrong, the I have fuffered. The Greeks and the Romanes both contended fo long for mv fauour, till both were content to forfake me quite, and to make me perish if it had been possible; (for vndoubtedly I had dyed but that I was immortall). Arrius: and Arrius came from Ægypt to sheath his fo Herctikes grow mighty fword within my bowels; he had no foo-in the midner giuen alarme to affault me, but that dest of con-

Z 3 multi-

Heretikes neuer want followers.

Constantius

an Arrian.

105 Bishops Arrians. Holar. contra Constătium.

Iudge if religion haue not suffered wrong, multitudes flocked vnto him to bee his East Church wherein followers: the beautie fometime gloried, loft her and her loue in fo ample manner. by this that pitifully to my wrong, meanes. Constantius the Emperour became Iudge if it were not lamentable Arrian. that I. who fometimes was highlie fauored, accounted of in their affemblies, relied vpon their integritie, wholly came fo diftreffed by his that meanes. 105. Bishops openly to doe me wrong, became Arrians: & if Alexādrias Bishops (religious Alexander, and learned Athanasius) had not encountered his with a matchles valour, I had then vtterly perished thofe countries: from in the fatall calamitie hence proceeded of Councels my fortune: against Councels: against Confessions; Confeshons Accusatios. Defences, Banishments, and cruell Doe you heare and credit me. tyrdomes. and yet for all this take me to have offered wrong & fuffered none? Nay, when I (fearfull) had taken my felfe into the inner

inner parts of Europe, for feare of harme, then came the Perhans, Arabians, Syrians Religion no vnder where sufe in Ægyptians called Sarracins, pretence to inlarge the honour of their Mahomet, all Africke. occupied paffed into *Spayne*, where they conquering, from thence came to Tours in France. if where they had discomfited. been of three hundred and fixtie thousand A famous perfons by Charles Martel, I had then pe-victory. rished. After this I began to growe more of France. valiant, and my worthie Godfrey, with Godfrey of the rest of his Lordes confederate, at the Bolloygne. instance of Pope Urban, drewe from France an incredible army, passed by sea Whereof the fweet Taffo after many trauailes, to land of the furthest westerne partes coast. to the frontiers of Arabia Svria from Persia, whereby my Godfreys true Martyrs all. neivalarous armie I wonne Ferusalem: there then droppe was any Christian in my quarrell, fhed, by which I have not intreated Fame corde, to my posteritie: nor was it either leffe veturous or honorable. which Eng-

Englands first Richard against the Turkes

Religion hateth discord.

my cause: and attempted for howfoeuer I may bee thought to loue discord, and to make diffention, vet in respect of the fauour that I found then, in regarde of the kindenes (countrie men) I received at your hands, I have been willing to relie vpon you, and defirous to dwell amongst you: that whilst loofing Religion their countries haue loft their Peace, and lacking peace, their Religion hath quite perished; England hath beene a Garden of Olive branches, fenfed with walles against violence, shadowed with a Cedar against heate; watred like Paradife against barrennes. and preferued with true Loyalty against rebellion. And whileft Greece. mon, and Athens have been at discorde: Carthage, and Parthia, with the of Rome, the French with the Italian, the Almayn Africa with Spayn: with the Switzard: Turke with the Christians, the Perhthe ans with the Turke: the Zauolians with the Persians, the Muscouit with the Polon:

England the feate of religion.

The happines of England by religios meanes.

The discorde of other countries.

and

and the Tartar with them both: in the meane time England for my fake hath England in and peace. found a peace, hath fitten at eafe, had leafure to looke at their falles. And I earnestlie pray (as I haue good cause) that peace being my childe, beget not Peace the plentie, and that be a meanes for to ba-child of relinish mee: for when a countrie through teth plentie that kils peace hath plentie, and through plen-the grandty is growne rebellious; then God by fe-mother. ditions and change of state, by inundafloods, by famine, plague, and tions of fuch like, he bringeth them (in fauor) to England note a fmaller number, least in pride & mul-this. titude they should growe for to fcorne Thus have I fome times tafted of mee. their harmes, and though I have lived In the dayes e- of our dread Souveraigne. fafe this 36. yeares, that no forraine nemie was able to roote mee from the land of mine inheritance: yet I have bin stil so vnited to your dread soueraigne. fo in fauour with my valiant champi- Effex, Wila- lowbie, Nor-ris, Sir Franons, that none opposed themselves gainst mee, but first committed treason cis Vere, against &. Αa

against her: and though at my intreatie

A false slander to make traytors Martyrs.

Neuer martyr was a

traytor.

Iustitia Britannica.

fhe was content to pardo them my fault, vet Iustice and conscience both would. that they all should perish that wish her euill. Then howfoeuer (thereby bee to false religion) they make dearer the world beleeue, that they dye for mv cause, vet I cannot chuse but I must needes renownce them: Martvrs I haue had, that have dyed in my quarrell; yet neuer any that intangled himselfe to destroye I have wept while tirants have a Prince. flaine my children: yet I neuer faw them to be found rebellious: giue mee leaue then openly to disclaime those out my fauour, to cancell them out of nors booke, to renounce them from being my followers. who haue traitoroufly conspired with my fworne enemies: treacherouflie who haue intended their Princes death: who rebelliouflie haue taken armes against my fides. who falfly haue expected to fee fall: mee thefe Ι pronounce. not to bee mv fonnes, and I must tell the Worlde. that

that they dyed not for my fake. And because Rome hath lately noted those Campia. re- Martyrium. Martyrs, the title of whom bellious malice caused to bee treacherous to their Prince; I must needes bee plaine that the world may fee, Rebellion and not Religion, Treason & not Trueth, was the cause of their vtter ruine. stome hath made it a thing common, & the communitie hath made it a thing credible, that the worfe things haue masked vnder good names, that fingu- An vfuall difobedience fault. laritie is tearmed zeale; freedome of conscience, rebellion, ſinceritie of profession, and open treason to be pure religion. Thus was the notorebellion in England, (after affectting the Irish) supposed to be the signe of a Catholike trueth, wherein fuffered the iust recompence fo foule defert, yet the Queene was merciful and forgaue fome. How can I then make an apologie in their behalfe? can I fay, these favoured religion, who fought to roote out the Prince, & land, Aa2 where

had dwelt of a long continuwhere I ance? I conceale their names as loath posteritie should remember an English-And herein the man to be fo difloyall. Pope, that should have been most reli-Gregorie 13. gious, was a chiefe dealer to subuert me, absolutions. Pius 5. fending ouer pardons. and fuch like, to exempt the fubiects of this realme from their true obedience. And performe what the better cotinually to Sixtus 5. he intended. Seminaries were erected vnder pretence to doe me good, haue harboured (howfoeuer fome politique, them learned) fuch fubtile. treacherous, and difloyall people, that having swarmed from thence as from a Exceeding pittie. hiue, & pretending (as they haue faid) good the Catholique of their owne countrimen. haue infected them with fuch pernicious poylon, moued them great treasons, perswaded them to fuch to those attempts; that if heauen had Miraculous preservation not withstood them with a mightie D0of Gods wer: if God had not detected them with Church. a pearcing eye; if the Lord had not con-? founded

founded them with a mightie arme: then had I (in all likelihood) been banished from this Iland, then had England I feare to perished, her Prince, her subjects, & that most cruelly by the meanes of her own countrimen. Thefe were they, who iustly conuicted of treason, by lawes made 200. yeare fince, in the time of Edward Iusticia Brithe 3. do openly (but wrongfully) boast tannica. that they have suffered for religion: yet I may fay this, that fuch as repenting their follie, shewed a forrowe, and were A greater were number. willing to performe amendment. pardoned, a thing not to be expected in fo great a fault; although (iuiuriouslie) fome of them have not been a-Stapleton. shamed to fay, that neuer religion was Parfons. perfecuted more, then vnder the most vertuous, peaceable, milde, mercifull, of Queene Elireligious gouernment nay, I can confidently fay this, zabeth: of punishing those that in stead who fhe hath fuffered This can not haue not offended. many to keepe their religion stil, to liue be denied. without danger of law, and fuch as haue Aa 3 pro-

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In Queene Maries time.

professed themselues to be Romish tholiques; aske but that graue and reuerend father Nicholas Heath fomtimes Archbishop of Yorke. and Lord Chancellor of England, he must needes confesse (and vndoubtedly would doe it, if he now lived) that he tasted of his Soueraignes clemencie in fo great meafure. that thofe who for religion tearme her to be cruel, are fuch as feeke by all meanes possible to defame Polethe Bifhop of Petergouernment. borough: Cutbert Tonstall reuerend a VVhite, Oglethorpe, graue man. Thurlbie. VVatson, Turberuile, Fecknam, such as of them had been zealous against yet she pardoned them their liues. caufe thev had not traiteroufly fought for fince the hers: beginning of raigne to this present day, there is able proue (howfoeuer man to fome haue bin malicious to affirme the fame) Queene Elizabeth hath for relithat gion onely, put any to death of the Romish fectaries. It were long for me to

neuer tongue tied,

Stander is

against the English Iustice.

In their libel

repeate

repeate (things alreadie *fufficientlie* knowne) wherein Rome hath ſo maliti- Papa pius that moritur ouslie dealt to **f**uborne her Iefuits. quintus, res from them, this 36. yeares, England hath mira tot inhad the greatest cause to feare the fub-ter pontifices, tantum Pius the fift quinque fuuerfion of her whole state. isse pios. (vngodly and cruell in this pointe) tended to free the subjects of this land. from their allegiance their dread to Soueraigne: thing abhorring a against divinitie, a matter neuer heard of, with any of my followers, and hated euen of the heathen themselues, who neuer fted of my trueth: to graunt pardon, openlie to auouch it: to subjectes and Prince, and to Eng- Leaue given against their it to Parsons.
Campion by lish men against their owne countrie: is fuch a faulte as former time neuer Gregorie 13. 1580. April thought of: the age present dooth ab- 14. to interdayes Pret the bull hor, and shall make thereat the of Pius 5. infuing to be aftonished: & it were too lamentable be thought of, to Religions should make any so fuperstition fearethe Popes authoritie: Fraunce, howfoeuer thou distracted inart now

to

Henry the 2. King of Fraunce his edict against the Pope. Anno, 1550.

King Philip once feared not the Popes Buls. Duke of Albany with an armie against the Pope.

1527. Whom he kept in Adrians tower 7 moneths.

to small peeces, yet in the daies of thy fecond Henry, thou hadft little feare of the Popes Bulles, when impatient of his : proude and vfuall vfurping within thy territories thou didst not onely by edict. decrees. parliaments, proclamations. difanull his fupreame authoritie. but denied him ftoutlie those yearelie reuenewes, which he exacted out of thy dominions. And Philip thou which now gouernest Spayne, and fondly intendeft to be the worlds Monarch, what minde then didst thou beare against the when fending with thy Duke of Albanie an Armie into the coasts of Italy, thou fpoyledft their towns. destroyedst their fields. fackedft their cities. and with thy canons girt them within the compasse of their owne walles? This shewed to the world how little (being offended) thou efteemedft of the Popes Bulles: and thy father, that worthie Charles 5. tooke Pope *Clemence* captine, and the whole Colledge of Cardinals, & made him pay for his ransome 400000. Duckets,

kets, & valued the Cardinals at a higher rate. And least thou which art openlie professed enemie. shouldest mv thinke that Englands Elizabeth wanteth presidents of her countrie, valiantly to with- Let the Pope make account marke this. ftand, and fcornfully to of the roring of thy Bulles: remember but the time of queene Mary, (a gra-Soueraigne if she had not been blinded by thy meanes) when thou wert offended with her cosin Cardinall Pole, Cardinall and in difgrace of him fent vnto Petie a Pole offenbegging Frier, the Cardinals Hat: she Pope. croffed thee in thy purpofe, and made fmall account of thy great threats. I could alleadge the worthie Henry the 8. Henry the 8. liue Shaked off regestred in Honors Catalogue to for euer: how couragiously to aduance me, he shaked off thy seruile yoake, and exempted his fubiects from the Romish tyrannie. But to let these passe, (as matapparant without proofe) I must complaine of two notorious e- Religions eneedes nemies, fuch, as in the daies of peace. nemies. haue done me the greatest wrong that Вb euer

The Atheist and the Puritan so called.

Religion no flates man but of counfell with the.

Dangerous for a Prince.

Machinell confuted.

fuffered: euer woman and leaft wondering thou stande amazed how this knowledge should be, in the land of Elizas raigne I meane the prophane Atheift, and the zealous (but falsely) Puritane. And although I poore Religion am not fo good a states man, that willingly I intermeddle with matters of the common wealth, yet I must say thus much in the true defence of my felfe, that fince prophane Machinell hath obtained fo much credit amongst the greatest all Europe, Atheisme hath men of perfwaded the world of my death, & tolde Princes that there was no religion. any counfell bee more pernicious to Common wealth? dangerous more to Countrie? more fatall to Prince? а then onely to relie in causes of greatest vpon his importance owne wifedome? to feeme to have that religion in flew, which he neuer meaneth to imbrace in trueth? preferre Heathens to before me? to ascribe selicitie to fortune. not to vertue and true religion? And thefe

these with divers others of like impuritie that prophane Atheist broched vnto the world, which was no fooner drunke by the states of Europe, but some of their States in kingdomes haue come to ruine. Nay, inated by prefumptio Machinell. take vpon me without prophesie thus farre, that the grea- A certaine test kingdom that Europe hath; the most prophesie. mightie people that euer was; and the Note this. most famous common wealth that euer florished, shall of them by contemall ning religion, become defolate. And howfoeuer I will not prefume fo farre, proudly to make (with Bellarmine) temporall prosperitie a note of the true Church, feeing she is ordained to suffer many calamities, vnder the hands of tyrants; yet I dare fay thus much, that religious Princes, while confidently in a Relig. Pringood cause, they have fullie relied vpon ces doe still triumph. assistance, they have notablie Gods umphed ouer all their enemies: thus in old Testament, Abraham, Moses, Fo-Gen. the sua, Gedeon, Samuel, David, Ezechias. has, and the Machabees, all triumphed *Iudg*. ouer Machab. Bb 2

their enemies, of multitudes ouer contemned by pro-(howfoeuer caule phane *Machinel*) fole conducwas the all their armies: thus almost (as tor of Aug. lib. 5. de civit. cap. Moses did Pharaoh) in these latter times 25. The Constantinus ouercame Maxentius. like might bee spoken of Theodosius the Cap. 26. Lib. 5. hiftor. Theodoret maketh elder, of whome cap. 24. priuiledged norable mention. of many fauours he obtained for his true profeffion: thus in the dayes of Theodofius the younger, when the Sarracins came to helpe the Perfians, against whome hee the Angels from heauen (like fought. Socrat. li 6. 7. the starres against Sifera) troubled the histor. cap. Sarracens, that in Euphrates there was 18. drowned a hundred thousand: thus 7u-Eugr. lib. 4. lian whilest he was my friende, made Jhistor. cap. talie & Afrike stoope to the Roman Em-16. ibid. cap. vlt. pire, but fodainely perished whe he had reuolted: thus Heraclius conquered the Perhans till hee became Monothelite: a I could alleadge histories of these latter times, but being a controuerfie for the religion (howfoeuer indeede it is true with-

controuersie) I will without not them that wrong, to grounde vpon thing, that is not yet graunted: the confor my cause, and the apish pollicies of other countries hath pittifully perfwaded them, to become Athe- By fundry I have encountered the Papists, and Doctors of tolde him he mistakes the trueth: his re-ning. ligion is meere erronious, and whilft I about foundely to perfwade this, went Satan raifed vp the lewde faction of irreligious Brownists to tell the worlde, Brownists a that England was not so happie to have feet to supa Churche, that titles of honour were theisme. impertinent things to trew religion; that decencie was a matter of ceremonie; which was no fooner bruted in the worlds eare, but the Papists began scof- As since the they have written in fingly, to contemne my trueth, and Atheist prophanely to thinke there was their bookes. none at all. But I am loath to rake in the dead cinders of polluted Machinell, who though Satan made an instrument difgrace me, and with his dregges dan-Bb 3 gerouslie

Ambr. Catharinus.
Archiep. Cōpufonus.
Ioh. Molanus.
Ioh. Boterus.
Anonymos.
Petrus Coretrus.
Iefirit.
Learned
Puritans.

gerouslie poyfoned the best states: vet shall my trueth like the sunne from vnder a cloude shine clearely in the dayes Elizabeth And men famouslie learned in all knowledge (as fome haue done in other places) shall openly shew vnto the worlde, that fuch pollicies are but cankers to a Common wealth. fuch discordes, weapons **fheathed** in the wombe of true religion; and thole promifes nothing but Cannon great (if it were vndermine possible) fhot. to the rocke where vpon I stand. And concerning the other, which in a forwarde pretended zeale haue defired to cleare the mudde that hath troubled the fountaine: to roote out the weedes that have hindered the corne, to trie out the droffe, that hath dimd the golde; haue vnawares (howfoeuer fome of them politickelie malicious) **stopped** the fountaine; plucked vp the corne. and confounded the treasure of true religion; so that if they might haue preuai-

By wife authorities and learned anfwers.

led

led (as they might have prevailed if di- L. Archb. of ligent care had not been taken in this Canterbury. respect) the Churche must haue withe- Bilfon. red as wanting fprings, the people must Hooker, &c. haue famished as wanting corne: religion begged as wanting must haue treasure: In deede iust faultes haue been founde, for that many infufficient taken vpon them fo great charge: that the Bishops haue paultered their liuings A true fault forgetting in Englands Churche. bafe a in fo manner, that their honor, they have feemed to be fawith meane persons: that they haue fuffered the patrons of their liuings to present any: nay, that which is most intollerable, that they have fented, whileft patrons haue paufed long (a thing needelesse so neere an Vniuersitie) to finde one sufficient to take Cruell pamust trons pittie the charge, that either a haruest quite the cost that the patron hath had hath not the by many futers, or if it can bee compaf-fauour of an fed. it shall bee plainelie temporall. T ward. feele my felse both too Feeble to complaine

plaine and too farre fpent to remedie fo great a mischiese: faultes will bee, yet religion must bee: the daies are euill, but my charge is not to leaue England whilest the world endureth; and if I must (being her companion) I will dye valiantly in her cause.

LOY-



# LOYALTIES SPEECH ENGLANDS CHILDREN.



Fter abundant triall of my many fauours, giue me leaue not vpbrayding you benefits you have re- geth her beceiued, only in equall comparison of other

with Loyaltie vr-

countries, to shew the wealth of Englands subjects, the happines of her land, the increase of her honor, the contentment and the euerlasting fame of her three children, and of all these obtained by my meanes. Now as the religious dutie to your Prince, the kind affection to your countrie, and the common care amongst your felues one towards another, are things not onely requisite for your good, but likewife commanded by the lawes of God and nature: fo rebel-Сc lion

#### Loyalties speech to

Loyaltie can not abide to heare of treason or sedition.

> ansted.

Understanding misted, begets treason.

What is rebellion.

lion (a thing which I quake to heare of) fedition (a thing which I hope I shall neuer heare of) are both fo capitall in themselues, and so detested of all ages. as the people must needs be barbarous that live to doe them, and the Prince. and people lamentably miserable. that live to fuffer them. And if it were not that false pretences (an vsuall cloak for the greatest faults) did make men thinke they leffe were offenfiue, neuer traitor would intend his Princes death. but take punishment of himfelfe for fo bad a thought: & neuer fubiects would draw their fwords in feditious manner. but sheath them in the guiltie intrals of their owne bowels. And therfore those to alter, who haue intended or vlurpe the state of their fuperiours (which call rebellion) not to bee branded with fo foule a shame; not to be noted with fo blacke a marke; not to be called by fo bad a name, haue indeuoured to fignifie their finisters practifes by good imployed fuch pretence, and haue for the

the effecting of them, as inconstancie of a chaunge, Ahath made defirous by what meanes, Prodi- What men theifme careles and are traytors. galitie beggars and full of want, lastly want hath made them to growe desperate. The trueth hereof is apparantly knowne, both by ancient histories, and of later time, not onely within theſe fmall dominions, hemmed with the narrow feas, but in populous and large Italie, within the walles of proud, stately and commaunding Rome, where the often Secessions of the comon people, to the Mount Auentin, may plainly testifie that malecontented, they preteded a reformation of the rich Nobilitie. So that the horrible, strange, and detested practifes of our time, which fome most irreligiously haue plotted to purpose (being nothing in taine their trueth but an ouerflowing ambition, an insatiable desire to rule) haue been False pretenfmoothed ouer with the fine tearmes of fes in traya common good, of the freedome of bels. the people, of iustice, of religion, of re-Cc 2 forma-

formation, and fuch like, things onely mentioned in name, and no further intended, then in a bare shewe: thus delt they, that fought to alter the Romane Empire by lighting the torch of ciuill diffention, (pretending the eafily more to winne the people) to free them from and oppression, fubfidies which then their feemed . bv gouernours to lve vpon them, making a flew to the comforte, that they tendered mon their case in so great measure, that they a longer indure could not to fee them Thefe preafflicted in fo bad a manner. tences wee reade to have been made in France, these haue been made countrie : and there neuer either was fubiect feditious in the Commõ wealth, or heretike hatefull to Gods Church. but they defired to be accounted Euan-Apostolike gelike and reformers, their bad conuenticles (Cockatrices to hatch treason) they tearmed by the name of Church. their phantasticall Gods opinions. Gods knowne trueth, and their poyfo-

Note this.

poyfoned herefies, the inspiration Gods fpirit. It were tedious & too long to repeate their names, who continualflaundered Loyaltie with base when themselues have tearmes. deferued most badly, both of the Church and of the Common wealth. Thus might I with teares remember the wrong that I fuffered in the Northerne Rebellion, where As may apthough the fact was so infamous, as the peare by the memorie is odious to this day, yet did witten in they pretend a reforming of religion, freedome of consciece, and a bettering of the Common wealth. I passe ouer fpeech (but neuer to be remewithout bred without fighes) the lamentable rebellions made in Lincolneshire, the difor-Sir John der in Norffolke by Ket & his bad com- Cheeke wrote of Sed. the intollerable boldnes panie, in Kent Alex. Neaccomplices. bv Iacke Straw and his These and such like haue laboured to roote me from the place of mine abode, to pull out Loyaltie from the mindes of subjects, to make them offend & thinke there is no fault, to raise a flame that Cc 3 may

whilest the

Common-

may giue light,

wealth shall burne; to ftirre vp those vnder pretence of right, who haue fired to fubuert the state of the whole land. Fosephus an ancient writer. fetting downe the rebellious reuolting, which the Tewes made from the Romanes, vnder colour of rude and vntoward dealing which they found in Florus their fetteth downe the gouernour, he particular remonstrance that King Agrippa made, touching the fmall appearance which they had. occasion rebellioufly to exempt them from their lawfull obedience: the Iewes replied that it was only against Florus, and not the Romanes, that thev bare armes: whom Agrippa tolde it was easie to say so, but their actions were fuch as worfe could not have been by the greatest enemies of the Romane Empire: for the townes they fackeď. the treafuries they robbed. houses they burnt, the fields thev sted: neither were the townes, the trea-

Euer bad things haue good pretenfes.

So may I fay to the English traytors.

the

fields

of Florus,

and

furies, the houses,

and no man had wrong but the Rowhom these manes. to belonged. Ιn like manner, when in former times (for I am loth to mention these later faults) wrong openly was offered to them our countrie, the townes take, the churches robbed, the houses burnt, the men flaine, and not fo much facred, as the very fepulchers of our forefathers, the By Ket. pretence was onely this, not a wrong or disobedience to the Prince, but uenge and reformation of the oppreffing cormorant. And thus lately (for I must needs touch it) whilest Lopez most Iewishlie, nay Iudaslie had concluded with the Spanish Pharifies to fell his Soyet fhamefully hee protested A thing vn. ueraigne. will likely and this. whereunto fenfe common impossible. hardly allow credit, that he onely ment to deceive them of their coyne, and to faue her from harme. Can we thinke the Spanyard fo credulous as in a matter of to credit without great importance good cause? Can wee thinke it likely, that he, who had concealed it hetherto from

Reade the chronicles.

from her Councell, ment after to impart it to her Maiestie? These things and ma-(howfoeuer nie fuch fmoothed ouer with a faire shewe) haue been committed by vnnaturall fubiects, fince her Maiesties raigne, that our very enemies the state of our countrie, could by no possible haue deferued meanes And howfoeuer the lawe tearme them. not enemies. but fimplie as rebels feditious to their owne countrie. vet they ought not to be honored with name of peace, nor as fubiects any way to be made partakers thereof, vnles the ouerflowing mercie of infinitely vouchfafe Prince them (vndeserued) great a fauour. When Anthonie rose αv against his in armes countrie, he was iudged & condemned worthilie bv Senate to bee a rebell: and when some intended to fend vnto him to intreate Tully thought it of peace. was most & farre differing from strange the ftate of the Senate, to affoord a rebel the priuiledge of an open enemie. France can

Mercy vndeferued.

Peace to enemies but not to traytors.

testifie

testifie of the like when trayterous subiects vndeseruedly (giue mee leaue tearme them by that name) have been fo mightie to withstand the King, that he hath fent without cotrolling tearms as to an open enemie: England hath not now (and I happilie wish, as I hope it neuer fhall) any caufe to deale in the like manner. But the time was in the dayes of Edward the fixt, when a base pefant fo braued the Kings armie, that they vouchfafed them parle, as if Rome had fent Ambassador to the men of Carthage. But rebellion being the canker of a Common wealth, time hath taught vs by lamentable experience in the warres of Rome, That sedition doth grow by Suffe-Rome fell by ring, and that clemencie is rebebellions spurre: clemencie to traytors. which if it had not bin a state so slorishing had not fo foone failed. And for France in the time of holie Lewes, fedition had not been so soone cut off, no rebellion had been rooted out. if the fword had not been made sharpe for to cut them off: for it becommeth a Prince Ddlike

like a good Surgion, to cut off the putrified parts, least the found bee infected with the like contagion. Furthermore. to groud my feueritie vpon the tearmes of honor (for Loyaltie ca hardly indure there is clemencie towards treason) If we can not Gentleman (vnles degenerate) that will indure the lye of his companion without recanting: and shall the Prince not onely fuffer this. but wrongs, dammages, iniuries, & despitefully at the hands Then band of travtors? felues vour Honorable Lords. wife Prelates. braue Captaines. worthie Gentlemen. refolute Soldiers, trustie Citizens, and painful Cominaltie, that the smallest part of treason may not take strength in our time, and all of you rather hazard the last droppe of your dearest bloud, then by treachedealing, the least wrong may bee offered to her facred Maiestie. This is a iust quarrel wherein Loyallie we are to vnite our felues: for loofing but the bridle to fuch dangerous treasons, our Prince, our liues, our Countrie, our for-

Suffer the lie, much lesse treason.

An exhortation.

A necessary Caueat.

tunes,

tunes, are all indangered at the fame in-Besides, either to pardon these stant. home, or fondly to credit those abroad. can bring no other benefite to the land but this, a contempt of our authoritie, a certaine danger to the Princes person, a perpetuall and needfull feare of new attempts: yet euer T must referue prerogatiue to gracious Souemy raigne; for gracious clemencie a (WOr- Mercy often dangerous cruell. thie vertue to a fubiect) but to a traytor, gives them but leafure to fortifie themselues; graunts them but time to renew their force. & the storme is no fooner past, but there is present feare of as great a tempest. For it is great simplicitie to suppose, & (at least) the extremitie of follie to beleeve, that those who are once pluged in the gulfe Not fafe to plotted trust a traythroughly of treason, and haue for kingdomes conquest, can possibly be reclaimed with the greatest kindnes, or let goe their hope, before their liues giue vp the latest gaspe. If a kingdome were fo weake, or a Prince fo timerous, Dd 2 (as

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(as almost it was lately in the Realme of France) yet it were easie to proue out of the historie of al times, that traytors feditious persons, howsoeuer they haue been so bold that they durst in the field incounter the Lords annoynted: vet he author whom the fcripture calleth the of victorie and the God of battel. shall make them to flie, when no man followeth. shall cause ten thousand of them to bee chased with a thousand, and in the day of battell giue victorie to his owne annoynted. The rebellio that was made Spayne against the Emperour Charles the 5. in the beginning of his raigne, together with the happie fuccesse of his Maiestie, may serue as apparant proofe this, feeing to confirme the feditious faction was foyled, and the most of the taken captiue. It shall be needles to adde this, that in the daies of Queene Mary, when first she came vnto the Crowne. finding the people to be mutinous, in the land nothing almost but flat rebellion, in shorter time then the **fpace** 

Charles the fift.

of two moneths, worthely she was conqueror ouer all her enemies: fuch was the state of Flanders 1566, and three yeares after: yet neuer heard of that rebellious fedition preuailed against Soueraigne: all lawfull ages afoorde multitude of examples in this kind: the vnnaturall riot of Duras: the full fuccesse of the battall of Dreux in France, and after of Poncenas: and not to stand in particulars of that country, the euent of things hath made knowne vnto vs. that rebellion builded vpon a weake foundation cannot possibly stand, if the Lord in anger do blow vpon it: neither fpeake I this to make a Prince more feagainst his rebellious subjects. uere make the Scepter of a King plow vp the bowels of his owne countrie men, but to fliew that Loyaltie cannot brooke rebellion, that fedition is odious to fubiect, & that treason is intollerable in a Commowealth, if  $\mathcal{F}$  lincked with Religion, (a thing hardly to bee hoped for in this bad age) coulde but liue for a Dd3fmall

Some of the nobilitie.

Note this.

A thing lamentable.

fmall time fafe from treason, if some of Englands Subjects had continuallie mained in my fauor, then durst I boldly haue compared with the proudest nation; and hauing religion a crowne, and loyaltie as a strong desence, she might valiantly haue incountered her floutest foes; for I may confidently auouch the reuerend fecuritie of an vpright excepting treasons minde) that blowne into the heartes of her fubiects. by forraine enemies, England hath been as free from danger, as far from distresse, in as great prosperitie, as euer was Iland fo bad an age. Then countriemen giue mee leaue, to perswade thus much, that the benefite of treason shall bee this, if vnhappilie (which God forbid) you taine your purpose, your countrie shall bee desolate, you your selues shall bee feared and fuspected of your enemies. and thefe ample ornaments, garlands of long peace, shall crowne your enefor the victories obtained in mies. vour conquest. I that have made your children

dren dutifull, in whose mindes the name What loyalty disobedi- hath done. of a Father did extinguish ence: I that have made your friendes trustie, in whome the name of facred Friendship was wont to banish all deceite: I that haue made your wives in the honorable reuerence of your loue, to respect no perswasion of strangers, thereby wantonly to commit dulterie; I (I fay) intreate you by these being children, in duetie fauours, that vou bee not disobedient to so good mother, being friendes by promife (and that confirmed with a facred vow) you bee not found deceitefull to fo dread a Soueraigne: & laftly, being those whom nature, religion, time and countrie haue matched nearlie for this 36, yeares, with fo gratious a Prince, that you bee not feene to proftitute your bewtie to ftranger, to admit Tarquin into your Plutar, in vnpunished) lib. de exilio. fauour, and (neuer to bee to violate fo great an oath: for what the feuen Ambassadors commended in their

their common wealths vnto King Ptolomey, that England may iustly vaunt fhe professeth at this day: and where as things compared thev in three should excell, England possessing one may iuftly in comparison twentie. out strip the proudest that Europe hath. The Ambassadors of Rome boasted that their Temples were honoured, their governours obeyed, and their wicked punished; may not England doe it more justly, if you compare it with those times? And yet for honouring our Temples, I cannot fo much commend vs, but onely that that little honor (which they have amongst fome) it is in true finceritie. The Ambaffadors of Carthage iustly boasted that their Nobilitie was valiant to fight, their Cominastie to take paynes, and their Philofophers to teach: was there ever countrie (I except not Carthage in his best estate) either the Nobilitie is where more va-Cominaltie liant. the more laborious, or the teachers more profound, then in England

England at this day? The Ambassadors of Cicely boasted that their countrie executed iustice, loued trueth, and commended simplicitie: neuer Common wealth I dare auouch, fince the first societie that had, was ruled with more right iustice, was honored with greater trueth, and admired for more fimplicitie, then generallie is the state of England: the Ambassadors of the Rhodians bragged, that the old men were honest, the young men shamefaste, and the peaceable, and may not England iustlie boafte of all these? The Ambassadors of Athens, that they confented not that their rich should be partiall, their people should be idle, their governours should be ignorant, and is not all this now as true in England amongst vs; as euer it was in Athens amongst them? The Ambassadours of Lacedemon, vaunted that there was no enuie because all were equall, no coueteoufnes becaufe all were common: no idlenes, because all did labour: Εe are

5.

6.

Enuied of other nations,

are not the fame banished from land, howfoeuer procured by a better caufe ? For England wanteth enuie in her felfe, not because all are equall, but friends: England is not couetous, not by reason of communitie, but because And idlenes out of this land conscience. was banished long since, with the Lorde Dane. The Ambassadors of Sicionia glo-

Lourdane.

rified iuftlie in these three (wherein England is supposed to bee farre shorte) that they admitted no strangers, inventors of new toyes, that they wanted [no] Philitions to kill the ficke, and advocates to make their pleas immortall, wherein I must needes confesse (for trueth onely becommeth my talke) that howfoeuer in the aboundance of her wealth, England hath giuen strangers money for very toyes, yet it was not for loue of them. but to flew the world, that their plentie was not debarde from euery stranger: for Phisitions I may truly fay thus, that the Æsculapins honoring Padwaie in the

the aboundance of her skill, is vnequall Learned to make comparison with vs in England; ieants, Counand lastly, for our aduocates (a flaun-fellers, der I confesse common, but vet most vntrew) men fo learnedlie wife, fo wifereligious, and fo respectively learned, wife and Europe religious. as if would feeme to contend in this, doutles shee should bee found farre inferior. Now thefe (and benefites farre greater then these are) should England be bed of by Treason, deprived of by Seditiand quite spoyled of by Rebellion. And therefore in the colde quaking feare of fo great an euill, when as I think how treason goeth about to supplant my state, to sel my honor, and make me perish with one wound, then doe I iustof King Anchises lv wifh the teares the fatall destruction mourning for of M. Marcellus for proude *Trove*, or the citie of Syracusa, when hee sawe it burne: or of Salust when he sawe Rome ill gouerned: or of King Demetrius, Ee 2 when

when hee faw his fonne in lawe slaine in battaile of *Marathone*. But becaufe mens harts are flintie, and not touched iust forrowe, breeding remorfe with my fall, let me wish, and wishing the kinde and brinish teares of Oueene Rosana, for her husband Darius, when he was conquered by the great Alexanor of bewtifull Cleopatra, der. weeping without comfort, that her best beloued Anthony was conquered by  $C\alpha/ar$ : but if thefe teares be prophane, and not befitting to mourne for the wrong, to fo vertuous and to fo holy an Iland, then let me wish the teares of Feremy for Babylon, when it was made captive, or Dauids mourning for his fonne Absolon, or olde father Facobs for his fonne Foseph: this were tragicke matter, to write of treason, to thinke but of that (yet death thinke) which they intended, after that day (if euer that then day shoulde enioy a funne) (being darker then the blackest night) (as I wish and hope that

it

it neuer shall) shall Englands wife and painefull Chroniclers write nothing warres and bloodie fieldes: Poets Lucan-like begin with Bella per emathios plus quam ciuilia Campos: and then those like Philofopher Ariminus. that the of the (who wrote aboundance of  $\mathcal{A}$ gypt) haue finelie difcourfed of the plentie of this Iland, may fit downe, and fhew a naked, bare, and fleshles Skeleton to the whole worlde: and those that haue boasted (as Demophon of the fertiltie of Arabia) shall figh and fay that Englishmens teares hath shedde such aboundance of falte, in the earths furrowes, that the Iland is become barren: and they that like Thurilides (of the treafures of Tyrus) haue tolde the worlde by trauaile of Euglands wealth, may fit downe and fay, The rich betrayed, are the richest spoyles: and those that like Asclepius (of the mines of Europe) haue written of the welthie bowels of the English earth, shall say that then she Ee 3 fen-

fendeth forth nothing but smoake, desirous to make an eternall night: And those that have written like *Dodrillus* (of the praise of *Greece*) (or *Leonidas* of the triumphs of *Thebes*, or *Eumenides* of *Athens* government) shall tell posteritie, that *Treason* in one day deprived England of all these.

As they account it.

But least some should think, that then my forrow fhould be greater the cause why, and that the losse were nothing which England should have by so soule a finne; giue mee leaue but in plaine tearmes to fet forth a naked trueth, and diviningly to tell, what would bee Englands miserie at that day: M. Crassus the renowmed Romane, valiant in warre, & wife at home, taking Syllas part against Marius and Julius Cafar, that was then Dictator, who being taken prisoner spake a loude. I weigh not my harme, but the pleasure that Crassus shall have to heare this newes: And amongst other. furely this will not bee the least that Spayne

Tell it not in Gath, &c.

fhould

should heare but of this harme, the Court which is now (like the eight Spheare) beautified fullie with fixt stars. should be nothing but like the ayre full Meteors. fending downe lightning, thunder, raine, haile, and fuch like: and then should ancient Cato that in 86. The ancient yeares was neuer feene to violate gra-and graue counfeller. uitie, fo much as by a fmile; who was wife in speech, sweete in conversation, correcting feuere, in prefents liberal, diet fober, in promife certaine, and in lastly inexorable in iustice: leave the Court at the age of 55, yeares, and betake him to a little village neere Pilena, where the passinger might write the porch of his poore cabinet, O falix Cato tu solus scis viuere: O happie Cato thou onely knowest how to liue: then should Lucullus one of the valiantest Captaines that Rome had after the warre The milery against the Parthians (seeing the com- of captaines. mon wealth troubled with the ciuill faction of Sylla and Marius) from Rome, betake

Elius, Spar.

betake himselfe to Lobo neere Athens; might Dioclesian (although a tythen which is feldome but ambitious) rant. after 18. yeares gouernment, betake himselfe to spend the rest of his daies in obscure silence: whom if the Romanes would recall by ambaffage, within two yeares after he would rather liue in his poore garden with Pericles his infcription, Inueni portum, spes & fortuna valete, nil mihi vobiscum, ludite nunc alios: (the fame is ingrauen in the tombe of Francifcus Pullicius) And then iuftly should Scipio Africanus fomtimes fo highly nored in Rome, which in the 22. yeares that he made war with Afia, Africk and fought vnluckely, who Spayne, neuer facked Carthage, gained Africa, ouercame Numantia, and conquered Hannibal: yet discontented liued in a poore towne for eleuen yeares, without euer entring into Rome or Capua. Such should be then the desolate state of this whole Iland: and greater calamities should fall

fall vpon vs, then a heart not vsed to these, possiblie were able to vtter. feeing I haue begun, giue mee leaue a little to reafon the case further: Can Loyaltie vethose hement athey preferre vnknowne, before are well knowne? vniust, before fon. that those that are most iust? strangers, be fore domesticall? couetous. before foberly moderate? wicked, before religious? deadly enemies, before those that fworne vnto the Common wealth? a Spanyard, before an Englishman, Philip dread Soueraigne? before our There was neuer nation found fo barbarous, fo cruel, fo without pitie, wherein not fo many (nay not one) was found fo cruell to his owne countrie. Tully (O if he liued now to invey against those) thought Verres the worst man that euer him countrie had: yet compare thefe, and he was meerely honest; hee stole but out of Appollos temple, secretlie and in the night, some fewe religiouslie Traytors cohonoured Images: but these (I feare to pared with Ff fpeake

s

speake it) have intended to take a sacred Prince from a holie land: he offerred violence to the place where Apollo was borne, but these not to the place, to a personage, farre more then Apollos was. But let not deep fcanning wisedome be offended that I compare her to Apollo: for whatfoeuer wrog offered to that, which trueth, or ignorance, deemed in earth the dearest. that is contained in the treasons. which haue been intended against our dread Soueraigne; who all this while standing like a rocke of pearles (in the affured Englands watchman) is confidence of not danted to fee her enemies to bee fo malitious. After that Philip of Macedon had conquered the Athenians, hauing Philosophers at supper with him he propounded this Question, VVhat was the greatest thing in all the worlde; one anfwered the water: another faide the funne: another faide the hill Olympus: another fayd the giant Atlas: another favd

God.

faide Homer: but the last and wifest answered (nihil aliud in rebus humanis magnisi magna despiciens) nothing is mum, humane things, but great in a minde that contemneth great things. M. Curius, whe the Ambassadours of the Samnites offered him golde in great abundance, answered, I had rather bee Lord ouer you, that are Lordes ouer it, then onely possesse it selfe: and did not this fpeech of his deferue better then the action of Lucullus to rob the Spartans? Did not Crates gaine more glorie by casting his riches into the sea, then King Nabuchadonozor for taking the treafure out of the temple? Is it not more honor for the rich *Indians* to contemne their golde, then for the greedie Spanyards to couet it? which if it were not to the preiudice of forraine princes, all countries could wish him to bee glutted with it, and that the Fberian fands were like vnto golden Tagus, and their little riuers, like vnto Pactolus Ff2 ftreames

streames: but since he makes it the sinew of his warre, and his warre nointended thing but an triumph oner Empyres; it the greatest behooueth Princes to croffe his Argolies, that goods lewdlie gotten, may not be worse spent: whilest thefe but ruinating ambitious treason. plotts, grounded vpon haue rifen vp like a Pyramides in the greatest Englands Soueraigne Kingdomes, fitten confident, without prefumption, conquering without crueltie, and victo-Whilest rious without contention. the meane time Sedition shalbe ruinous. Rebellion shall have an end, and Treason shall be fatall to him that thought it: for when heathen writers haue flatteringly perswaded that treason may have cesse, then shall the Scripture say, That neuer traitor was mentioned and left vn-Sellam conspired against Zapunished. chartas the King of Israel, and slew him, but within one moneth after, hee himfelfe was flaine of Manahem: Peka con**fpired** 

A happie sight.

4 King. 15.

fpired against Pekaim, and after was flaine of Ofeas, and Ofeas the last king of Ifrael, was taken bound and brought Infinite might examples into Assyria. bee in this kinde, who vpon false perfwasion haue risen vp against the Lords anoynted, and have perished like Iabin Iud. 4. 23. in the day of battaile, and wee may fing with Deborah, They fought from heaven euen the starres in their course fought against Iudg. 5, 20. Sisera: the river of Kishon swept them a-21. way, the auntient river, the river Kishon, O nish steete. my soule thou hast marched valiantlie. Hitherto haue I been toffed in the dangerous warres of fwelling Treason, where iust occasion was offered to speake of fundrie by name, famous to the worlde for fuch foule offences: but I am loath to rippe vp the hatefull memorie of our countries enemies, whome though rayling brainficke Romoaldus the Scot, feem In confutat. to cleare by his fond defence, yet it is fo Summarij friuolous, idle, without learning, reading, or experience, as I can tearme it  $\mathbf{F} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{3}$ nothing

## Loyalties speech to, &c.

Against my L. Keeper & others.

nothing but Catilins oration against Tullies Confulfhip: and when profanely by his defence hee hath encouraged traytors the best hee can: yet then with indifferent and wife readers he shall bee deemed foolish, and England florish ouer all her enemies. I am willing Countrimen. fpeake more largely vnto to you, but fearing to bee troublesome, I onely defire but this fauour, that according to the Hon. Examples of your famous forefathers, Loyaltie may dwell in the heartes of English fubiects.

The conclufion,

FINIS.

A Quest of Enquirie,
by women to know,
Whether the Tripe-wife were trimmed
by Doll yea or no.

Gathered by Oliver Oat-meale.



Imprinted at London by T. G. and are to be fold in Paules Church-yard.

1595.



Liuer, if your name be Oliuer, by your leaue a cast, for I must shout in betweene the doore and the wal, that is shuffle a letter in betweene your title and Pamphlet: which Letter was directed to be lest at the two sooles at London bridge: and for my hart I cannot finde the signe. Now since your Pamphlet lackes both a Pistle and a Patrone, I thinke this letter wil sit ye for either, and by wandring among manie, happen at length into the right owners hands. It followes at auenture.

To Simon Huff-souff the terrible Book-tearer, & furious defacer of the Tripe-wives effigies, peace offered with cap and knee, to preserve all papers from like extremitie.

Haught minded, and hot spirited Simon, I salute ye. Understanding your valarous assaults against The Tricking of the Tripe-wife, in sundrie places: I could but commend your forwardnes: and praise your aduifed opinion vpon the first sight, both of the Author that made it, and of them that neuer heard of it before your selfe: twas well done, you shall sinde Castalian of my minde, that of such swift censurers hath this sentence:

A fooles bolt is foone shot, Ad penitendum properat, cito qui iudicat.

Tut, what tell I you of repentance, proceed, proceed, your neighbor Nichol and you may answere any A 2 thing

thing you doo. By your leaue fir a little: and while I talke, haue fome patience, glare not with your eyes, fome not at the mouth, ftrike not with your fifts, ftamp not with your feete: I will reason reasonably vppon my honestie, & yet I care not if I leaue argument, and vse example.

A quaint fellow growen fortunate: excelling as hee thinkes both in wealth and wifedome all his other riualls, forges to himfelfe an imaginaric conceipt, that they enuying his good, intend to have publike iests at him and his late won wife. The most of them whose good fortunes it was to loofe (as it had been great pittie to part fo louing a couple) are most Scholler-like Gentlemen, and one of them generally beloued of all that imprinting have experience to publish any thing, & at this time is possest of a worshipfull place, according to the laudable customes of this honorable Citie. Now which way in your opinion is best to preuent the writing or publishing of anie odde toy': shall he reconcile himselfe to those that were the quondam suters, & give good words, because his widdow hath been notoriously ridiculous': Or shall he run vp and downe the town, with friskes, and heighs, and fillops, and trickes, accompanied with fome fuch wife-akers as himfelfe, (Be not offended Simon, though you be his companion) reuiling his betters, and abusing his equals. ample needes no application: and for aunswere your neighbor Nichol tooke his last course. For I haue heard him that trickt the Tripe-wife sweare, till her husband abused him, and your selfe consorting with Nick Trickes misused his whole companie, the Mafters, especially one of them, in kindnes and reuerence

of

that honourable name yee vide, vouchfafing both to accompanie and counfell you for your owne good: whose good wil you rewarded with reproches: but they that touch pitch shall be defiled, and those that pleasure ingrateful persons vnthankfully requited. He protests before God, that the Masters of his Companie, are vtterly ignorant of his proceedings, and for ought hee knoweth are at him offended. He appeales to all the worshipfull Companies in London, especially to those of whom your felues are free, whether ye haue not done the parts of intemperate idiots, to abuse men in authoritie without cause: and protests, had he been but a waterman, as he is a professor of the most noble Science of Printing, hee would not have fuffered the abuse of his fuperiors. He repenteth not anie thing that he hath written, but is onely forrie that he is by an honorable personage mistaken: but doubteth not shortly to proue how you have abused one verie nere him. He sweares that where he hath been a mortall enimie to all Ballad fingers, he will neuer inuaigh against them more, if they will fing at your windowes a new Jigge, termed Anne Tripes. Confider neighbor Simon the contents. to wast paper be pitifull, and learne patience: keepe a good tung in your head, least it hurt your teeth. Farewell Sim, and commend me to your overthwart neighbour.

Yours to vse, when ye know how to vse your selfe. D. D.

A 3 An



An Eglogue louingly begun and unluckely ended betweene the Tripe-wife, and Trickes her husband.

#### Trickes.

S Weete sweete Sowce-wife on this fraile of figs, Despite of those that doo our fortunes hate: Iesting at vs with Ballads and with Iigs, Enough to make kinde love vnkinde debate.

And while we carrol of our discontent, With strained notes, like scritch owles yrkesome crie, The roaring river unto our lament Shall lend her lowd confused harmonie.

Tripe-wife.

Ah were we seated in a sowce-tubs shade, Ouer our heads of tripes a canopie: Remembrance of my past ioy-thriuing trade, Would somewhat ease my present miserie,

But since I trotted from my trotter stall, And figd about from neates feete neatly drest: I finde no pleasure nor content at all, But line disdaind, despisde, abusde, distrest.

Trickes.

#### Trickes.

Why here are fweetes, fweete Lone, for fent and tast, Frute from the Straights, Spaine, Candie, Barbarie, Indian Tobacco, humors moyst to wast, Thou knowst I have a pipe for thee and mee.

Succades and comfets, harts-help Cynamon:
Pepper cold in the maw, hot on the tung:
Seny to purge, health-keeping Balfamum,
And Mace, to make thy vizard smooth and young.

## Tripe-wife.

Out upon all this trash, your drugs, your spice, Twere well if I had neuer seene your house: You tearme my visage vizard, goodman vice: But I was yong, faire, neate, when I sold sowse.

#### Trickes.

Thy tripes were yong, thy neates feete fat and faire, Thy fowfe was fweete, and all these longed to thee: Thy selfe wert wythered, old, leane, meager, bare, Yet thou and they were both beloude of mce.

But neither thou nor they may make compare With me or mine, therefore contend no more: The Butchers offals were thy fweetest ware, Mine, of farre Kingdomes are the wealthy store.

Tripe-

#### Tripe-wife.

Accurst was I to leave the Butchers fees, How base so ere, they brought in golden gaine, The mistres Tripe-wives name by thee I leese: That losse, their lacke, I ceaselesse doo complaine.

#### Trickes.

Accurst was I to haunt the pudding house, Where swine facde beautie onely sate in pride: Curst be the chitterlings, the tripe, the sowse, And curst my selfe that did not all deride.

#### Tripe-wife.

What dooft thou cursse my trade? be this thy paine: Run bootles madding, rauing vp and downe: All helplessy gainst jygging rymes complaine, Let euerie Ballad-singer beare thee downe.

#### Trickes.

Saift thou me so, thou Tripe, thou hated scorne? Goe swill thy sowse-tubs, loathed pudding-wife: My brother Huffsnuf and my selfe have sworne, Spite of thy eares to lead a pleasant life.

With this they part: and so the Eglogue ended, Tripe was with Trickes, and Trickes with Tripe offended.



A Quest of enquirie of twelve good, honest, and substantiall women, upon examination of certaine persons, whether the Tripe wife were trimde or no.

**T** S it euen so neighbor *Nicholson'*: now in good fadnesse I am fory for your mishap, that a mariage accomplished so hastily, should be repented so fuddenly. Yet man, keepe your owne counfell, and feare not, all will be well enough I warrant ye. alleadge in your letters, what a blemish it is to your credit, and withall, what an inward vexation of minde you are perplext withall, when your friends cast in your teeth your marriage with the Tripe wife, what a beaftly filthy flut she hath beene, and still is, without any hope of her amendment. Yet all this is not fo greeuous to ye, as the bad reportes that flie abroad of her, that not contenting her felfe to be cofoned by a notable drab, she must afterward, or at the same instant, be trimde by that new vpftart Barbar, who infteed of Siffers, was glad to vse a paire of sheeres, and for want of a chaire, fuch as men vse to sit in when they are trimde, she must advance one foote vpon a Treuot, and make the other leg ftanding foolifhly by, acceffarie to the others intollerable follie. O world of iniquitie, where are womens wits': that make no difference betweene their owne fecrets, and a Cowe heele or a Tripe, and because their education hath onely bene to dreffing of the one, therefore they must needs make a triall of trimming the other.

B For

For your fake good neighbour, pittying your dayly vexation, and according to my promife when we met last at Ratcliffe: I went to the place you wot of, where (though it was fomewhat to my cost, yet nothing is ouer deere in regarde of a friend) I made meanes to get in, euen fo foone as the Quest of women were newly calde together, and before any of the persons to be examined were admitted to answere. When feeing how orderly they intended to proceede, and that heereby a perfect resolution might ensue, both for my felfe and you: I drew foorth my writing Tables, and getting close into a corner noted downe euery thing fo neere as I could, which now written more at large, then in fo fmall a roome I could comprife, I have fent ye by my feruant William, who hath further instruction beside to acquaint ye with, whereof I defire ve to have an especial care.

First, *Margaret*, not your wises daughter, but a byblowe (as is imagined) of your predecessours, was called before the women.

Then mother *Meffingham*, the old true peny for trimming of a Tripe, then *Alice* and *Ione*: *William* should have bin there, but was not, marie *Richard* very honestly came in, and defended the cause very substantially, so did Mistresse *Rose*, and the partie with the golde Ring on the foresinger. The intergatories for examination, were these that follow.

- I Imprimis, whether fuch a woman, named Doll Phillips, came to the dwelling house of the Tripe wise at such a time, naming the moneth and day.
- 2 Secondly, what talke they had beneath together, and whether she brought with her a letter or no.

3 Third-

- 3 Thirdly, who went vp the staires with them, whether any body, or themselues alone.
- 4 Fourthly, how long they taried aboue together, and whether any sheeres were cald for or no, or whether they had them ready aboue in the Chamber.
- 5 Fiftly, whether they knew them to be vsed or no, for taking away of haire from her head, or the other vnseemly place.
- 6 Sixtly, whether the Tripe wife had so many futers as *Doll* speakes of, to the number of nineteene or no.
- 7 Seauenthly, whether they knew the man that had beene so bolde with the Tripe wife, that threw her on the bed, kist her, and did, or would have done aliquid amplius, because he was the furthest in her bookes.
- 8 Eightly, whether the Capon and Turkie (by any of their knowledge) was fent to the King and Queene of Faires or no.

Other questions were demanded afterward, but not with such vrgencie as these, because you know these were most materiall, and (as the case stood) were most necessarie to be knowne: yet will I tell ye what the other were, when I come to speake of them as they happened.

Margaret stood laughing, holding her hand before her mouth all the while the articles were read, wherupon, one of the women sharply reproued her after this manner. What Margaret, maide (if ye be) ye shewe small ciuilitie, regarde yee not where yee are': you imagine belike, that ye are in the Queenes head in Pater noster rowe: ye made a wise nights worke there, did ye not, when (about you) a man was stabd B ii

fo farre into the backe, fie for shame, be more modest, else this (and your other trickes) will vtterly marre your mariage, if yee liue to be worthie of so honorable a calling.

The woman had no fooner vttered these speeches, but *Margaret* blushing (for she hath a little grace yet left her) stood very demurely, making courtesse at euery woord, and promised to answere euery article truely, according to her knowledge, and thus she began.

Upon the day you name, she whome you tearme Doll Philips, came to my mothers house, in the habit of a countrey woman, faying fhe was fent from one maister Grace in Essex; a Gentleman professing the lawe, and a very familiar friend of my mothers, for whofe fake she was the better welcome, and much talke paffed betweene my mother and her, because she shewed her selfe so perfectly acquainted with Maister Grace. A letter she brought indeed, which being read, fhe told my mother, that fhee had more weighty matters to confer with her on, which made my mother take her vp the staires with her, not admitting any but themselues to go with them. The time of their tariance there, was not aboue three quarters of an houre at the vttermost in all, which space I heard no Sheeres cald for, neither were any caried vp to them, nor knowe I whether any were aboue in the Chamber or no.

Now concerning your demaunde for vsage of the Sheeres, truely I am perfuaded it is vtterly vntrue, and onely rumoured abroad to defame my mother. For though she was defirous to have the spurrialles that were lost, and which I have often times seene when my father was aliue: yet I have a better opinion of my mother then so, that she would not graunt to enjoy them

by

by any fuch a bad meane. Yet age now a dayes in thefe latter dayes, shewes themselues so simple oftentimes, that one can hardly answer for them in matters of more importance, therefore I referre yee in this case to olde mother *Messingham*. she hath beene most inward with my mother, and therefore in such a doubtfull cause can best resolue ye.

That she had nineteene woers, I am not able to stand directly vpon the iust number, but questionlesse I imagine she had (from the beginning of her widdowhead) rather more then one sewer, for I tell yee, my father lest her that which made her lookt after, and not so much but olde Saunders the Sergeant, became a lustie suter to her: but neuer I thinke was widdowe so washt in sack, Sugar, and good drinkes. I warrant there are some that yet sit and thinke on their laussh expences, for my mother was outwardly kinde to all, but inwardly enclined to thinke well of no one, for if she could not deepely dissemble, there are liers abroad, but I name no body, in regarde she may now make amends for that fault.

Nowe that there was one more special in her fauour then all the rest, we in the house haue diverse
times imagined somewhat, mary could neuer perceive
any outward token to be noted: but the woman who
pretended cunning to her, threw forth very vnmannerly speeches of the matter, that vnder shrifte (as it were)
she disclosed the man to her, which if she did, she was
not so wise as I tooke her for: my self am but a young
wenche, and yet if I intended to bestow such a token of
my sauor on any one, mine owne mouthe should neuer
be the trumpet of my shame, but rather as I had offended sondely, it should be lockt in my bosome the more
fecretly, for let the worlde imagine what they lift,
B iii

when they know nothing, I have both the winde and water fide of them.

As for fending the Capon and Turkie to the King and Queene of Fayries, thats best knowne to *Doll* and my mother, for the matche was closely made betweene themselues, and whether on any such condition or no, I am not able to say: but sure I am our maide caried them with her, and deliuered them to the woman, ere they came halfe way to the king of Fayries house, for they say his dwelling is at Paddingtan, and the maide was discharged of her burthen in high Holborne.

This is all I can deliuer good women, and (vpon my maidenhead) I haue told ye as much in these matters as I am able to say: for I had more minde of other businesses for my selfe, then either to regarde my mothers cousenage or wooing.

Call in mother *Messingham* (quoth the Cryer) and she will resolue yee thorowly in these cunning affaires.

She being come before the Ouest, whimpering and making courtefies downe to the ground at euery word: defired the might be no accuser of her good olde mistresse, for she knew nothing in these matters, and therefore could fay little, but being commanded to proceed in the Articles, she pleaded ignorance to all but one, and the knowledge she had in that one was but by bare reporte, neither therefore (quoth she) builde not vpon the trueth of my words, for I received them at the fecond hand, and few things (ye know) are mended in the cariage. It is (quoth fhe) concerning her number of futers whereof I am to fpeake, and which of them received most assurance of her kindnesse:

then

then thus (after *Dols* owne words) will I tell ye what I heard.

When the coofening Drab had perfwaded my miftreffe, that she could helpe her not onely to the golde knowne to be lost, but a great deale more said to be hid in the house: shee demaunded such a request as hath beene spoken of, for by the helpe therof she must effect the conjuration, otherwise shee was not able to proceed any surther: but by the saith of an olde woman, I thinke no such conference past between them, at least I am sure my mistresse sweares the contrarie, and I tell yee I will not distrust her wordes for more then she is worth.

Come miftreffe (faith Doll) I knowe one kift yee on Christmasse Eue last past, when your hat fell into the Sowse tub, I know yee gaue a good fellow a King, with seauen Diamonds in it, and the King I likewise know ye haue this day receiued againe: so albeit I am able to say who the man is you do most affection, and can tell therein perhaps more then you imagine: yet must you your selse reueale his name to me, how he kist yee at the beds side, vntide your hosegarter, and elected ye for his owne with the best testimony of good will.

She faith, that my mistresse resolude her in all these, which if she did, (as I will neuer imagine her so simple, or that at any time she would make so slender reckoning of her reputation:) I must needes blame her solly and great indiscretion, which doubles the penaltie of the offence so carelessy committed.

Thus much I will confesse good women, that my mistresse had good store of suters, among whom were divers of good credit & esteeme, whose purses launcht out

out liberally, and nothing was reputed too deere or daintie for the widdowe: but that I faw ill demeanour offered in any one of them, or any fuch wanton humor in my mistresse, I neither can or will fay for all the worlds good.

Many have beene falfely charged with matters, as now perhaps my mistresse is at this time: but I leave all to him to censure, that knowes best whether these reports are true or no, and so take this as the vttermost of my knowledge.

The rest being examined, and able to say little or nothing to the articles, the women went alone by them selues awhile, and finding every thing so apparant, that they were not long to be stood vppon: they returned that the Tripe wise was never trimde, yet to prevent the worst which afterwards might ensue, and as women that would not endaunger their credits, they wrote downe vpon their bill *Ignoramus*, whereuppon, the sentence was delivered in this manner.

First, because the Tripe wise had fallen into this wonderfull ouersight, and thereby had run into so many harde opinions: all her other suters (ashamed of their former soolish affection, to fancie such an inconstant woman, of so durtie a trade, and in so stinking a place) vtterly giving her ouer: she should thence be sent to London bridge, and there be maried to him, that had more then a moneths minde to Tripes and Trillibubs.

Lord how glad was I, when I heard the game go on your fide, when I remembred what a tall feruitor you had beene all her wooing time for her: your hard fortune at M. *Graces*, where you had fo flender entertainment, how you walkt in your Jerkin and tawnie

tawney veluet hofe, to view M. Hubbards hoppes, when by that meanes you got a bidding to dinner, yea euen the best place at the boord, namely, to sit iust before your louing mistresse, where all amorous discourse was faine to passe betweene ye in the Cup, for further libertie ve were not admitted. But aboue all, I commend your shorte and sweete enstruction given her at the window, pinching her by the finger, and bidding her looke to her felfe, for she was in danger to be stolne away, and all your market marde. And in faith the merrie night at Epping was worth gramercie, when the Gentleman your riuall fupt in your company, and had a priest ready, if neede should so require. Beleeue me neighbour, you had great reason then to be affraide: yet more then Hercules-like, you valiantly held out, in despight of Philastorgogh, the bottle of Sack, and all Richards words, which renownes ye to posteritie, for an vnconquerable wooer, and verefies on your behalfe that ancient verse.

> He loou'd Tripes as his life, Therefore he hath the Tripe wife.

Oh that I were acquainted with fome excellent wit, who in liueliest colours could decipher downe your heroycall fortunes.

My stile is all to[o] blunt and bad, To write of such an active lad, That brought the wooers all to baye, And caried the Tripe wife quite away.

Thus

C

Thus haue I fent ye all the proceedings of the Iurie, and therewith (according to your request) my opinion of that blessed night, when you made such passage to the purpose, as the next morning you had the fruition of all your labours, I meane the Garland of your briding day, to the disgrace of al the other suters, and your owne eternall commendation for euer. But first I pray ye read this Dittie, which was deuised by a dere friend of yours, Master Iestray Kexon, in defence of your wife so much wrongd and in applauding of your rare conquest, the like being neuer heard of since the great Conquest.

A ligge for the Ballad-mongers to fing fresh and fashing, next their hearts everie morning, insted of a new hunts-up, to give a good morrow to the Tripe-wife.

Neighbour Tripewife, my heart is full of woe: That cousning Doll the Iugler, should iumble with you so.

I that am your poore neighbour, had rather spent a crowne: Then have ye thus defamed by boyes about the towne.

Abroad in everie corner, the Ballads doo report: That you were trimd vnwomanly, and in most shameful fort:

By standing on a Triuet.

to heare what she could say:

She lopt ye of [f] a louers locke,

and caried it away.

Alas were you so simple,
to suffer such a thing:
Your owne maids sit and mocke ye,
and everie where doth ring,
The trimming of the Tripe wife:
it makes me in a rage,
And doubt least that the players
will sing it on the Stage.

I am forrie for your hufband, alacke good honest man; He walkes about, yet mends not, but looketh pale and wan: That where before he vaunted, the conquest he hath got: He sits now in a mammering, as one that mindes it not.

A number doo imagine,
that he repents his marriage,
And gladly to the shambles,
would send ye with your carriage;
For all the carts of houshold stuffe,
that came to London bridge,
Nere pleased him so, as this one greese
doth rub him on the ridge.

If

C 2

If gold bring such a hart-breake, Ile none I thanke ye I: Tis shame it should be spoken, and if it be a lie. But would he be aduisde by me, if it be true or no: I would turne her to her Tripes againe, and let all matters go. I.K. FINIS.

Now all good Ladds, to whose reading this prefent Jigge shall come, I would not have ye mistake my meaning in the Song, that ye should goe about the streetes singing it, or chaunt it at her doore, ere she be vp in a morning. No, God forbid, that would but breed domesticall disquietnesse, and if man and wife should happen to fall out about it, I (not knowing how neere the Tripe tub stands) might bring him in more danger of Gun-shot then I am aware of. Therefore I pray ye conceit it after my owne entending, that is, a Sorrowfull Sonnet for euery friend of his to meditate on, least their fortunes should proue so monstrous as his, and they run into perill of hanging themselues, vpon fo extraordinarie a conclusion.

Heere followeth the rare atchieuement of the widdowe, from her house behinde the shambles, how she was conveyed thence to London Bridge, and made a Bride vpon a very short warning.

Yea marie Sir, now ye come to the matter I long to to heare of, by reason of the divers reports bruted abroad thereof, and whether it were fo herovcally acted. as fome haue heard it from his owne lippes. Was it possible, that she (having such honest well willers and frends, at home at her house at dinner) could chuse no other time to flip away, but even at fuch a time, thereby to discredite her felse? Was her coloured excuse to buy a hat and an apron, and falls it now out fo, that she bought a husband? O world full of falshood. O women most deceiptfull, when ye are least suspected. But went fhe then directly to the Bridge or no? No, she went not then thether, but one of her Sisters, counterfetting a fudden ficknesse, the other (beeing the fatter of the twaine) was made the instrument of fetching her to an intended Banquet: where wine walking luftely about. and manie merrie matters familiarly disputed on, it was fet downe for an irrevocable determination, that no remedie, the Tripe-wife must dine next daye at her louers house. But it is wonderfull to speake on, with what zeale she paced thither, her apron in her hand all the way, which she had not so much leasure as to put on, but looked still behinde her, least she should be caught vp for waight and fashion. He, as anie kinde heart in like case would doo, doubting her comming, because she had so often dissembled with others, trudges to her house: but happie did hee esteeme that lost labor, when at his returne backe againe he found her where he wold haue her.

Now the Sisters lay on load for him, because hee had promised them large requitall: and how the tyme was wasted in conference, I know not, but wel I wot, home he would not let her goe that night, for now hee

had her at such an aduantage, as he neuer expected the like, if he should now let her scape.

But in good fadnes, they are much to blame, that fay they whitled her with wine, and fo (after some other ceremonies theretoo belonging) drew a promise of marriage from her. It is verie vnlike it should bee so, because that night before she went to bed, she protested she would none of him. Oh, but the old dog helde sure: and though the man himselfe were somewhat timerous, yet by good instructions he began to chere vp his spirites.

Now you that be louers, tell mee whether it were a hot figne of loue or no, when the Widdowe (fitting afleepe by the fire) hee valiantly (comming behinde her) pulled her stoole from her, when downe fell she, and he by or vpon her, with that learned and wittie aduerbe in his mouth, Keepe the widdow waking. Well, I know not whether these words are able to enchaunt or no, or what strength or vigor the manly acting of them hath: but either thorough them, or her late sitting vp that night, she tooke such a surfet, that needes shee must to bed. And yet me thinkes that labour might full well haue been spared, because she had so little while to rest her selse: and rising againe so early, it might bring manie a qualme ouer a wifer womans stomacke than hers.

But would you imagine, a woman of her tender yeres, little aboue three score at the vttermost, not dareing to aduenture on the water in the broad daye light, could so suddenly conceive such a hardie peece of courage, as so over-timely in a morning, to passe through his cellar, and so enter a boate lying readie for her, to savle

fayle fo farre as Pepper Alley, and thence to S. Georges Church: where because the Church-man was not readie, she must needes passe a large circuite. can tell ye wherefore that was: marrie to stop theyr mouthes, that faid fhe durst not be married by daylight, therefore fhe despifed two a clocke in the morning: A figge for them that dare not be married at ten a clock in the forenoone, and afterward home to dinner of her owne prouision, brought thether the day before. Here was a cunning bob for the reft. Call ve him a foole or a fimple fellow, that had the wit to compaffe fuch an exployt': well mafters, fit you at the ypper end of the table, kiffe and fmowtch the Widdow neuer fo much: there is one fits nethermost, hee hath an eve to his busines, and whatfoeuer you but barely hope for, hee is the man I tell ve, must carrie the wench away.

Oh, but well fare the frend that made fuch hast for the license: sew wooers are beholding to such a deere Damon. And not at that time onely did he stand him in some sted, but in the countrie likewise he stucke closely to him. If he reward him not well for his paynes, he is verie much too blame: for both his countenance and credite were no meane helpes to him. Hold him then the best string to your bow (Neighbour) in getting the Tripe-wise.

Thus haue I been as good as my word vnto you, my verie kinde and honest Neighbour, in sending you this briefe collection of your aduentures: nor knowe I how to extoll sufficiently your great deseruings, though iniquitie of time somewhat obscure your valor, reproachfully throwing this bone for you to gnawe on,

that had your labour been bestowed in better fort, than for a basket of Tripes and Chitterlings: some one or other would have spoken to our Antiquarie, to have written four lines at the least in praise of your passing proceeding. But seeing it is no better,

Giue loosers leaue to prate their fill, The Tripes are thine both good and ill. What others say, take thou no care, Puddings and Tripes are chapmens ware.



Certaine reports spread abroad of the Tripe-wife and her late married husband, whereby if they be flaundered or no, let themselves be their own Iudges.

IIrst for the Tripe-wife, that all the time of her I widdowhood, her lips were to common in kiffinge-[e]uerie one, and her hands fo readie in receiuing all gifts whatfoeuer, tearming each futer hufband, and making fo little difference in outward kindnes, that either she imagined she might have manie husbands, or dissemblingly thought to vse all alike. A fault, wherein if shee were guiltie, as it is credibly reported, doubtles it deferueth generall reproofe, and no milde cenfure of her verie deerest frends.

That likewife she was verie wantonly giuen, often desiring, like them long kept fasting, the louing morfell of a man. And to showe her folly the more in this one poynt, I have heard, that with her own hand she made a priuie fearch in a Gentlemans round hofe, whether he ware them with a rowle, after the best fashion: or that they were voyd of all good shape and making.

That one of her Sifters, knowing her by nature to bee thus affected, willed him that hath married her, to fhew her whether he were a man able for the field or no, and what good weapon hee carried about him: otherwife, there was no small hope of pleasing her, and lesse to ת

be

be expected of his fuccesse.

Now whether he followed her good counfell or no, I am not able to fay: but hence (as it is reported) grew Dols vnhappie ayming at her throwing vpon the bed: Which if hee did alone, and no bodie elfe, it was the more valorously performed: but if he had any pertakers, it was the greater wrong to come so many against one bodie; for one to one is alwayes counted faire playe, manly and reasonable, but to oppresse by multitudes, is euer reckoned an apparant signe of cowardise.

That shee should sweare the night before shee was wedded, that she would neuer marrie with the Grocer he was such a logger-head: but if the former condition of the obligation stood in sull force and vertue, then I imagine he had best right to her, except some hungrie sellow desired to follow, and sup vp his leauings.

And here (by the way) the generall rumour is to be examined: namely, that the night the stoole was puld from her, she had abuse offered her two seuerall waies: first to be vanquished by wine, a shrewd depriuer of the senses: then dastardlike to be throwne backward, and more laid on her, then she was able to beare. If thys be the way to get a wife, well may it be tearmed drunkenly done; but neuer to be reputed heroycall, like his other active agilities: marrie when no better way is left to speed, wel-fare the wine that won the widdow.

It is faid also, that he promised my brother William the present release of source score pound land by the yere (which he was not to enioy till the widdowes death) if he would (as he did) labour for his successe. And now that he hath sped, hee not onely in this breakes promise with him, but in a matter of two houses beside, stand-

ing

ing behinde the shambles, the leases whereof were by his deceased brother made in his name, and conditioned that he should enter on them after his death: but byr ladie, my new married brother in law now sayes no: fo William is like to tarrie yet both for the land and houses. But bee of good cheere Brother, you are not the first that hath trauild for an vnkinde requiter, nor shal be the last must lose by him.

Both the Sifters (I heare) likewise are together by the eares, because the ones rewarde exceedes the others, and there is such alledging, which of them hath best deserved on his behalfe: that while they stand contending, and counting how much they shall have for their paines, he turnes them off with a sillop of the singer, and slatly saith, now he hath what he would have, let them goe seeke what they should have. Sifters, I would have William and you put your gaines together into a bottomlesse bag: and if at the yeeres end it encrease not, yet ye shall be sure it will not be lesse than it is. Marry, (if ye can) turne your endeuors another time to better advantage: else you will bee thought vn-wise, & he that so thrives by your labor more fortunate.

Fie vpon ingratitude, cries poore Richard, hee will fell all his gettings for a pore pepper corne: yet he faies if promife had been kept, fiftie pounds in effe at the leaft should have fallen to his share, beside the full and absolute power of his Sisters trade put over to him onely: where now, he is not onely deceived of the one, but disappoynted of the other: and his vnkinde Sister the Tripe-wife, that I thinke will followe sowce felling even in her grave, abbridges him of that paltrie prerogative, and slatly executes the office still her selfe.

D 2 What

What a lamentable Dittie is here in foure parts, of Nihil habemus, which doth not fo much difturb the fingers, as it urgeth difpleasure in the hearers. Good people, beware of wooers promises, they are like the musique of a Taber and Pipe: the Pipe sings golde, gifts, and manie gay things, but persourmance moralized in the Taber, still beares the burden of I doubt it, I doubt it: which in my conceipt is a verie pitifull hearing.

Moreouer I vnderstand, that verie simply himselfe makes report, how weake his state stood, before he got the widdow, and that if she had not come when shee did, his inkhorn had been drye, and he not able to write one letter more.

What folly is this in anie man, to disclose his own Secretes': If it had been so, for shame I would never have reveald it my selfe. But hence I perceive growes the houshold disquietnes, as is said, betweene him and her, because she findes not what she expected, and therefore wisheth her selse over head and eares in the souce tub.

O what a mournfull mornings worke was that betweene my fat Sifter and her, when she raild in Lombard-streete, for exchanging so much of her golde, and wisht she were behinde the Shambles againe as well as euer she was: for the roaring of the Thames, (or rather ransacking of her bagges) so disquiets her nightly rest, that her other home was heauen in respect of London-bridge.

Beside, it is no manly part in him to make vaunt, how oft hee trickt the Tripe-wife before he had her. Fie, sie, I am content to winke at small faults, but (if ye

ye should be such a one) this were intollerable. Ile bee sworne, I made answere on your behalfe, where I had a round checke for my labour, I said, I durst haue layd my life yee would not vtter such a woorde for all the world. Peace soole quoth the aunswerer, the man is wise enough.

Then I heare how you goe bragging about, breathing forth horrible thundring threates, because certaine bookes and ballads are printed of the Tripe-wise: ye said ye had the tricke to out-face all the wooers, and so yee would ouer-dare all the Printers: yee beknaue your betters, calling them at your owne pleasure, and then turn your tung to your taile when you haue done. What man? it will not snowe alwaies, neither can you or the best tenaunt yee haue, beare downe Paules Church-yard. Rather win them with kindnes, for extremitie auayles not, they know yee for a man and no more, and will care for ye as a man and no more.

I know a verie good frend of yours, who would bee heartely forrie if these reports should be true, & means to talke with ye on them when hee next meetes ye: for my part, I am sure ye euer found me firme, and so vpright vnto ye in wading thorough the cause, that as I would excuse nothing, so would I neuer instifice anie thing.

Ye must regard the world as it is, naturally giuen to finde fault where anie cause is giuen, bee it neuer so little. And though all the stirre about the Tripe-wise be not worth the least peece of a Tripe: yet it sufficeth that yee haue wonne the spurres, from them all, and therefore let me adde these, as appendices vnto your Armes.

D 3 A

A Chitterling rampant in a field fowfant, two haggas puddings for the fupporters, a Neates foote cleanly washt fixed on your creast, and a faire scrapde Tripe to couer all, for the mantle.

So with my hartie commendations to your good bed fellowe and your felfe, with all the rest of my approoued frends, I bid yee heartely farewell, this 2. of Aprill. 1595.

By him that his more yours than his owne,

Oliuer Oat-meale.

### FIN

Hold *Oliver* and thou be a good fellow, and let me in two or three words clap vp a conclusion, before thou fully end thy *Finis*.

In the Sowse-wives time of retailing, thou wert not verie familiar, but since Tripes have been ingrosd it seemes thou hast been her sweete harts Secretarie. Shall I be plaine with thee': I mislike the partialitie of thy Jurie, commend thy plainnes touching the reports, and give thee this priveledge, that neither hee nor she shall ever hereaster trust thee, and therefore if thou have anie more matter of truth, turne it to me, and I can fend it to mad Daine, that meanes to thunder out terrible matter against Nichol neates soote, and Huff snuffe his neighbor. Farewell till within this fortnight by which time we shall either be all frends, or make our sude endlesse.

FINIS.

### NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

- Title-page, Polimanteia = a book of many oracles (I suppose) from 'manteium,' or Greek μαντείον.
- Epistle-dedicatory to Robert, earl of Essex... See Introduction on this illustrious as unfortunate historic name.
- Page 3, l. 4, 'truly,'—the comma after 'truly,' and between it and 'honourable,' is a frequent and somewhat annoying punctuation in the book and contemporaneously; l. 7, 'ingeniously'=ingenuously.
  - ,, 4, l. 1, 'male-contented' = mal-contented, or discontented and evil; l. 16, 'difpo/e' = disposal.
- The Preface to the Reader, p. 5, l. 5, note the odd combination 'conceited-wise-foolish' = conceived to be 'wise' or by themselves assumed to be 'wise' yet actually 'foolish'; l. 13, 'fweet Salust'—an infelicitous adjective for the stern and terrible historian; l. 15, 'painefull' = painstaking; l. 30, 'degenerous' = degenerate; l. 34, 'My L. Henry Howard' = Surrey. The treatise does not appear to be known now. See also p. 19 at top.
- Page 6, l. 4 from end, 'Balductum' = paltry affected writer. Nares s.v. quotes this passage. Latin verses. See Introduction for translation.
  - ,, 9, 1. 9, 'artificially' = artfully, or with art or skill.
  - ,, 10, l. 2, 'Ape' = imitator.
  - ,, 11, l. 18, 'maners' = morals.
  - ,, 18, l. 6, 'nimble.' This word has previously occurred on p. 13, l. 1, 'nimble subtiltie.'

### ENGLAND TO HER THREE DAUGHTERS.

- If W. C. was William Clerke (see Introduction) it is easy to understand how as himself a Cambridge man he places her first as eldest daughter; last line, 'naked trueth'—a phrase that about a century later became historically famous in the controversies conducted by Marvell and Bishop Croft, &c., &c.; ll. 5-1 at bettom—the Englishman's pride in 'this England' imparts elequence and power to this and parallel passages.
- Page 25, l. 1, 'Sigebertus' . . . all mythical; last line, 'was' = wast, and so p. 26, l. 9.
  - ,, 30, 1. 9 (from bottom), 'petegree' = pedigree; last line, 'Padway' = Padua,
  - ,, 31, 1. 3, 'liue-making'—a play on the word 'live' and 'Livie' = the immortalizer of Rome; 1. 14, 'Champion'— another play on the name of the R. C. Campion—always to be distinguished from his namesake, Dr. Thomas Campion, Poet and Musician; 1. 18, 'Louvan' = Louvain; ib., 'Stapleton' (nay mine . . . .) = England, i.e., the famous pervert was an Englishman: the

margin-names need no annotation; for if Whitaker's once prodigious renown has long since ebbed away, except traditionally, Fulke's great book is still *quick*, and so with those below.

- Page 32, margin at top. It is significant of W. C.'s position that he classes 'Puritans' with 'Atheists,' and oddly enough with 'Politickes,' with the astonishing addendum 'Law must cut these off.' How things do repeat themselves! One of our Bishops not so long ago clubbed 'Public Houses' and 'Nonconformist Chapels' together as alike (pestilent) obstacles to the progress of the Church (i.e., his bit of the Church); 1. 17, 'mate' = match, or play with (as in chess); 1. 4 (from bottom), 'an Vniuersitie and a towne could not well agree' = the old antagonism of town and gown! But it is curious to find Cambridge and Oxford spoken of as 'Vniuersities' and not 'towns.'
  - ,, 33, Il. 5-6, 'Elephants . . . vnruly . . . at the snew of the Mulberie'— a strange myth.
  - ,, 34, 1. 7 (from bottom), 'diuine Sydnay' = Sir Philip Sydney. So p. 35,
    1. 17, and side note; 1. 6 (from bottom), 'Chrystallin Spenser'
    = "the poet of poets," then (1595) still living; 1. 5 (from bottom), 'Elizas' = Elizabeth's. See margin note. So Henry
    Chettle in his Mourning Garment called on Shakespeare and all the poets to celebrate the great queen. Spenser has immortalized her in the Fairy Queen.
  - ,, 35, l. 4, 'Ferdinandos' . . . see margin. This "late worthie Earle"

    (pater) was commemorated by the brilliant Falkland. See his
    Poems in Fuller Worthies' Miscellanies. So too Henry Lok
    (ibid.) and others contemporary; at bottom 'Hatton.' See
    margin-note and Epistles-dedicatory in our Introduction.
  - ,, 36, l. 11, 'mot' = motto or watchword; l. 15, 'bald ballader' one of a thousand contemporary girds at the 'ballad-makers,' whose popularity with the 'commonalty' eclipsed the fame and lessened the pecuniary gains of the more dignified poets. Even 'gentle Willy' has his flouts against them.
  - 37, l. 4, 'intellerable flatterie of ftrangers wits' = translations from Italian and French; ll. 8-17 and onward, Essex. See Epistle-dedicatory and our Introduction.
  - ,, 38, 1. 4 (margin-note), 'Sweet Master Campion' = Dr. Thomas Campion;

    1. 8 and margin-note, 'Oxford thou hast... Britton' =

    Nicholas Breton, who was of Oriel College. See his Works, for first time collected, in Chertsey Worthies' Library, 2 vols.,

    4to; 'Percie' = William Percy whose 'Sounets' form part of these Occasional Issues; 'Willobie' whose Avisa is also in this Series; 'Fraunce' = Abraham Fraunce on whom see our Introduction to Poems by him in Fuller Worthies' Miscellanies; 'Lodge' = Dr. Thomas Lodge; 'Master Dauis of L. I.

    Sir John Davies see my collection of his complete Works

in Verse and Prose (3 vols.) in Fuller Worthies' Library, and his Poems (3 vols. in Chatto and Windus's Early English Poets); 'Drayton'= Michael Drayton; 'Learned M. Plat'= Sir Hugh Platt, author of Flowers of Philosophie . . . (1572), Jewell House of Art and Nature . . . . (1594), &c., &c.; l. 5 (from bottom), 'appeare'= appearance; l. 4 (from bottom), onward and margin-note, 'Th. Kidd'= Cornelia [of Robert Garnier] translated by Thomas Kyd, 1594.

Page 39, l. 1, 'Paradife of daintie deuifes' = "devised and written for the most part by M. Edwardes . . . . . 1576," onward in numerous editions and so falsifying the text; l. 3, 'Zepheria' = Zipheria — Ogni de viene la sera. 1594; ibid., 'Cephalus and Procris' I have seen an early poem so entitled, but cannot recall the author; ibid. (margin-note), 'greedy Printers'— Printers were then as often the Publishers; l. 8 (margin-note), 'Poetrie be tearmed Ryme'—an odd complaint; l. 13 and onward, 'two childrē frēds' = Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe—extremely noticeable is this appeal to the two furious antagonists. I shall fully quote it in my editions of their Works in the Huth Library.

,, 40, l. 6, 'sinisterly'= left-handedly.

,, 42, 1. 5, 'Bomonia'- qu. misprint for 'Bologna'?

,, 44, II. 8-9, and margin note, 'your truelic eternizing Elizas stile, M. Alablaster's 'Elisæis' (among the Bright MSS.), though 'lauded' by Spenser, never has been printed. Thomas Newton and others 'sang of her; 1. 10, 'Roufard' = Ronsard; 1. 13, 'Bartaffe' = du Bartas; 1. 14, note the 'praise worthie' in relation to the same applied to Shakespeare in margin-note; II. 17-18, Spenser again lauded noticeably; 1. 5 (from bottom) onward, 'Daniell' = Samuel Daniel; margin-note, 'Sweet Shak/peare,' and margin-note, p. 45. See our Introduction. As noted on 1. 14, 'praise worthy' in text shews that 'praise worthy' of margin-note was not meant to have full stop or any punctuation, but to be applied to 'Lucrecia,' or 'The Rape of Lucrece'; 'Eloquent Gaueston' = the legal writer? If so - a singular interpolation between first and second part of the note; 'Watsons heyre'= Thomas Watson. See Introduction (as before); 'that divine Lady'= "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother"; 'Sir David Lynfay'- A Scottish poet, whose Works Dr. David Laing collected and edited admirably (3 vols, 1879); 'Matilda'= another of Daniel's poems-for others see text (p. 45); 'Diana' = of Henry Constable; margin-note at bottom, 'Prucul'= procul; 1. 4 (from bottom), 'Grofers' = grocers—who buying (socalled) 'waste paper' then and since often made havoc of books.

,, 46, 1. 3, 'period' = make a period or end.

ENGLAND TO AL HER INHABITANTS.

Page 48, 1. 9, 'full rathe' = full savage?

- ,, 49, l. 6, 'table'—context suggests panel portrait; l. 6 (from bottom), 
  'fometimes' = sometime,
- ,, 51 (marginal note) 'if the Spaniard know it'—what a contrast between the pride of power and power of pride of Spain then and now!
- ,, 53, 1. 13, 'loofe'- lose.
- ,, 57, l. 13 onward, 'Elizabeth'—one of many proofs of the 'spell' the 'great queen' had upon her foremost subjects.
- ,, 58, last line, 'renowned' = renowned the contemporary and later spelling.
- ,, 61, l. 2 (from bottom), 'fondly' = foolishly.
- ,, 62, l. 9 'tennifing'—verb formed from game of tennis.
- 62, l. 3 (from bottom),—the text and context, before and after, give a vivid picture of the then troubled and disturbed state of England.
- ,, 63, l. 16,—punctuate comma (,) after 'trees,' and semi-colon (;) after 'heat.'
- , 64, l. 14, 'lightes' = lungs now and long a vulgarism.
- ,, 65, l. 9, 'the Turke' see note on Spain on p. 51, margin note.
- ,, 66, l. 5, 'fmallie' = very small.
- ,, 69, (2nd margin-note) early occurrence of a proverbial saying; l. 13, 'broached'— set open.
- ,, 71, l. 12, 'their Nauie 1588' = the Spanish Armada; l. 4 (from bottom), 'France'— as before with England, this and context sets forth the then weakness of France.
- 73. (1st margin-note) = the famous or infamous conspirators.
- ,, 74, l. 4 (from bottom), 'poore America.' What a contrast now!
- ,, 75, l. 3 (from bottom), 'masking weedes' = mask or masque dresses.
- ,, 83, l. 15, 'fillie' = innocent.
- ,, 84, 'the flarre 1572' onward portents that Richard Harvey so terrified the nation with.

RELIGIONS SPEECH TO ENGLANDS CHILDREN.

Page 85, 'weekely' = on Sundays; or qu. = weakly?

- ,, 89, 1. 11, 'apparant' = evident.
- ,, 92, (margin-note), 'The Iewes'—a people without a land, and a land without a people.
- ,, 95, (4th margin-note) again 'fweete' applied to Tasso as to other and very different names.
- ,, 97, (bottom margin note)—all historically renowned names, all great Englishmen.
- , 101, l. 10. 'fuffered for religion,'—this historical fact of political treason not religion on the part of the R. C. who 'plotted' against Elizabeth cannot be too often accentuated. See p. 102, on Elizabeth's clemency.
- ,, 109, l, 11 'the lewde faction of irreligious Brownifts,' and margin-note.

  In the clearer light of to-day and a more judicial historic sense,

the 'Brownists' are now appreciated — after every deduction — as saintly men and women who yearned after that Gospel which 'the Church' (so-called) denied then or knew not. Cf. Hopkins' *Puritans* and Dr. Dexter's great recent work, on *Barrow and his compeers*.

Page 111, (top margin-note) — an early recognition of 'judicious Hooker'; l.

10, 'paultered' = pilfered or qu. = peltered, bought and sold or trafficked?

LOYALTIES SPEECH TO ENGLAND'S CHILDREN.

Page 116 — these demunciations of Puritanism sound grotesque to-day in the knowledge of what the Puritans and Noncomformists have been and done for England.

II. A QUEST OF ENQUIRIE, &c. = Inquest.

Page 145, l. 7, 'a cast'= help or aid? but see Nares, s.v.

- ,, 146, l. 16, 'at this time is possest of a worshipfull place'—qu. Decker?
- ,, 147, l. 12, 'a waterman'— qu. a hit at John Taylor the Waterman poet?
  l. 25, 'ouerthwart'= cross.
- ", 148, l. 5, 'Souce-wife'=pickle (with salt)=Tripe or pigs feet seller; ibid.

  'fraile'= slender basket; l. 19, 'fig'd'= fidgetted.
- ,, 150 l. 8, 'chitterlings' = small entrails.
- ,, 151 l. 22, 'Treuot' = three legged stool.
- ,, 152, l. 18, 'by-blowe' = bastard.
- ,, 154, l. 4 (from bottom), 'fpurrialles' = spur royals or gold coin worth about 15s.
- ,, 155, l. 5, 'inward' = intimate; l. 24, 'mary' = marry.
- ., 157, l. 19, 'affection' = like, fancy.
- ,, 158, l. 8, 'cenfure' = judge; l. 7 (from bottom), 'Trillibubs' = anything trifling applied to 'tripe,' now, it is 'trolly bags.'
- ,, 160, l. 9, 'Ieffray Kexon' one of the then 'ballad makers.'
- ,, 161, l. 18, 'mammering' = muttering.
- , 163, l. 7 (from bottom), 'lost labour'—a current contemporary phrase seized and immortalized by Shakespeare; l. 4 (from bottom), 'lay on load'— heavily, as 'loady' is = heavy?
- ", 164, l. 4, 'whitled' = whetted pointing to the root-word of 'whittle'; l. 16, 'aduerbe' = proverb.
- ,, 165, l, 10, 'bole' = bowl? l. 13, 'smoutch' = smudge.
- ", 168, l. 19, 'vanquished by wine, a shrewd depriner of the senses.' Cf.

  Othello, ii, 3, ll. 284-8: "O God! that men should put an
  enemy in their mouths, to steal away their brains! that we
  should with joy, pleasure, revel, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts."
- , 169, l. 3, 'byr ladie' = by our Lady = Mary.
- ,, 171, l. 9, 'certaine bookes and ballads are printed of the Tripe-wife'—I have not traced any of these even with the assistance of the keenest nose of all living researchers for a ballad, my good friend the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth of Molash.

  A. B. G.

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IN

## GENTLE AND SIMPLE LIFE.

#### BEING

- I. England's address to her Three Daughters, the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn: from Polimenteia, 1595.
- II. A Quest of Enquirie by Women to know whether the Tripe-woman was trimmed, 1595.

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Completion of this volume will be delivered in July, and will include an Introduction, shewing the literary and historical value of both the present works, and containing full quotations from kindred contemporary books, and Notes and Illustrations, as well as remainder of "A Quest of Enquirie."

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